

PRO-ARAB PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: VEHICLES AND VOICES

A Handbook

1983 — First Edition

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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PREFACE

Beginning in June with Israel's military action against the PLO in Lebanon, a pro-Arab propaganda network, which had been growing steadily in the United States for many years, erupted in full force. Led by five major American-based pro-PLO organizations, the network waged a massive propaganda campaign in the U.S. to sway Americans from their historically strong support for the State of Israel. The nightly television news which brought pictures of death and destruction directly from Lebanese battlefields, and the print media with its exaggerated casualty figures created fertile ground for the latest propaganda campaign characterizing Israel as a "militaristic," "brutal" and "oppressive" nation. The purpose of this Handbook is to identify the leading individuals and organizations who have mounted this and previous propaganda campaigns targeted against Israel.

This propaganda apparatus did not spring up overnight. Shortly after the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, Israel's enemies launched what has become an escalating campaign to undermine deeply-rooted American support for Israel's survival, questioning the basic legality of the infant state. Israel's victory in the Six-Day War of 1967, signaled a second stage of the Arab propaganda crusade. Anti-Israel elements in the U.S. distorted the actual events leading to that war and promoted the myth of an "aggressive," "imperialistic" Israel seeking to expand her borders "from the Jordan to the Euphrates." The third stage occurred in the period following the Yom Kippur War of October, 1973 and the subsequent Arab oil embargo which caused skyrocketing energy prices. Economic pressures stemming from this embargo added a new dimension to anti-Israel activity in the U.S. The pro-Arab propagandists used this new "petro-dollar weapon" in an attempt to influence American Middle East policy toward the Arab and PLO positions.

By the end of that decade, in the wake of the Camp David accords, the pro-Arab and pro-PLO propagandists seized upon the theme of Palestinian rights, which they claimed had been overlooked by the 1979 peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel. Charging the Jewish state with gross human rights violations -- including torture, educational and economic repression of the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, the propagandists stepped up their campaign aimed at discrediting Israel in the eyes of the American public.

In this effort to destroy Israel's positive image in the U.S., the propagandists sought allies among leftist groups and elements of the liberal church and Black communities as a means of forging a broad-based pro-PLO coalition in America. The propaganda campaign waged by this network appears to have had two long-range goals -- that of gaining U.S. recognition of the PLO and curtailing U.S. military and economic aid to Israel.

It was against this background that a sophisticated, well-coordinated campaign was launched by the pro-PLO support network to exploit the events in Lebanon and to advance their goals.

In the summer of 1982, countless anti-Israel advertisements appeared in newspapers across the United States. Foes of Israel appeared

on radio and television and were interviewed extensively feeding journalists a grossly distorted picture of the war's events. In addition, anti-Israel propagandists lobbied intensively for termination of all U.S. aid to Israel. These efforts received support from certain figures close to the U.S. foreign policy establishment.

Spearheading this anti-Israel campaign have been five prominent pro-PLO organizations:

1. The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) formed in 1972, is the main political action and lobbying organization among the five.

2. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) was founded in 1980 by former U.S. Sen. James Abourezk and James Zogby, ostensibly to "combat anti-Arab discrimination" and stereotyping. The ADC however, has also heavily engaged in activities of a more political nature.

3. The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) was founded in 1967 as a small but elite scholarly organization that has functioned as a kind of pro-PLO "brain trust."

4. The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) was created by the AAUG in 1977 for the stated purpose of defending the human rights of Palestinian Arabs. The PHRC has consistently promoted allegations of human rights violations against Israel and has solicited the support of church and left-wing groups for the PLO cause.

5. The Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA) was organized in 1979 to serve as an umbrella group for more than 50 pro-PLO organizations in the U.S.A. and Canada.

It has become apparent that having lost the PLO military base in Lebanon, the Arabs, the PLO and their U.S. supporters will intensify the anti-Israel battle they have been waging on the American front. Recent evidence suggests that plans have already been set for a concentrated pro-Palestinian propaganda war in the U.S. In mid-July a then-secret three-day conference attended by 23 prominent Palestinians was convened in London. Of the resolutions passed at the conference, the most important allocated \$100 million for a massive anti-Israel campaign termed the "Palestine battle."

This plan provides for contacts to be made with people close to or within the American administration, whose sympathies the conferees perceived as pro-Arab. Reportedly, the plan's proponents hope that these contacts will result in the creation of a Palestinian "lobby" on Capitol Hill.

In view of this escalating campaign to undermine American support for Israel, Israel's friends and allies face a growing challenge in the coming years. Meeting this challenge requires an informed understanding of the "vehicles and voices" in the vanguard of the anti-Israel Arab propaganda network in America. This Handbook is designed to fill that need.

A NOTE TO THE READER

The contents of this Handbook have been arranged in alphabetical order within two separate sections: Organizations and Individuals. The order in which they appear in these sections is therefore not indicative of their significance or importance.

An Index is also included indicating all page numbers on which an organization or individual is mentioned.

Any publication issued by an organization is listed within the initial heading for that organization. In addition, references to the publication are listed in the Index.

Along with the full name of the organization, the initials commonly used in referring to organizations, e.g., NAAA for National Association of Arab Americans, are listed in the Index.

Since the Palestine Liberation Organization is mentioned so frequently, only its constituent bodies appear in the Index under the general heading Palestine Liberation Organization.

ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICA-MIDEAST EDUCATIONAL & TRAINING SERVICES, INC. (AMIDEAST)

President: Orin D. Parker
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1951
Publication: AMIDEAST Report

America-Mideast Educational & Training Services, Inc. (AMIDEAST) is an outgrowth of the one-time highly active pro-Arab propaganda group, American Friends of the Middle East (AFME). At the time of its formation in 1951, AFME was one of the few existing pro-Arab organizations of this nature, but after the Six-Day War of 1967, the political and propagandizing activities of AFME were superseded by a number of newer pro-Arab organizations more clearly attuned to the then-current political and propaganda trends. This turn of events, coupled with the problem of obtaining sufficient funds for their political activity, resulted in AFME's decision to concentrate on education and vocational training for Arab students. Concurrent with the change of its activities, AFME announced a change of its title to America-Mideast Educational & Training Services.

Today, AMIDEAST functions as a private organization for the stated purpose of improving U.S.-Arab relations through educational programs. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., AMIDEAST has a worldwide staff of 150 with offices in Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen and in the West Bank of Israel. The organization's overseas operations include sending Arab teachers to the U.S. for graduate studies, providing scholarships for students at institutions in the Middle East, and making preliminary arrangements for those students planning to study in the U.S. To fund Arab student studies in the United States, AMIDEAST arranges student grants from foundations, governments and corporations.

With the help of corporate contributions and contracts, AMIDEAST also assists in arranging vocational and technical training courses, such as a recent training course in the U.S. for employees of an Arab airline. AMIDEAST additionally accepts contracts from Middle East-based Arab companies to train and upgrade the performance of employees with limited technical skills.

AMIDEAST's current President, Orin D. Parker, lived and worked in Arab countries for 13 years, two of which he served as consultant to the Turkish Ministry of the Press, Broadcasting and Tourism.

AMERICAN-ARAB AFFAIRS COUNCIL (AAAC)

President & Executive Director: George A. Naifeh
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1981
Publication: American-Arab Affairs

The American-Arab Affairs Council (AAAC) was founded on September 20, 1981, by a group of former State Department officials, diplomats and academicians who have worked and studied in the Arab world.

Incorporated in the District of Columbia, the Council is a private, non-profit organization whose stated purpose is to acquaint Americans with "Islam, the Arab World, and the extraordinarily productive relationships which have existed for a century and a half between the American and Arab peoples." In addition, the Council aims to acquaint Arabs studying in this country with the many mutual interests that bind the U.S. and the Arab nations. Toward this end, the Council sponsors lectures and seminars at universities, conducts lecture series programs, and has a Speakers Referral Service for the general public. To complement these programs, the Council distributes a number of books concerning Arab studies to universities and other interested institutions. It also publishes its own books concerning U.S.-Arab relations as well as a quarterly journal called American-Arab Affairs. Complimentary copies of the journal were distributed to a large audience of persons interested in Middle East affairs, among them graduates of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

The Council is assisted by four advisory committees in the fields of diplomacy, economics, education, and publications and the media. Committee members include a number of former foreign service officers who have served in Arab countries such as L. Dean Brown, former Ambassador to Jordan and President of the Middle East Institute, a scholarly institution oriented toward the Arab viewpoint; Hermann Eilts, former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Egypt; Talcott W. Seelye, former Ambassador to Tunisia and Syria; and Andrew I. Killgore, former Ambassador to Qatar who is president of the American Educational Trust, another recently formed pro-Arab group. Other AAAC committee members known for their pro-Arab activities include Professor Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown University and Ron Cathell, Director of Communications for the National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA).

AAAC's President and Executive Director is George A. Naifeh, a former State Department officer whose 20-year career in the U.S. Information Agency took him to the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Nigeria, Iran and Pakistan.

AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE (ADC)

Chairman: James Abourezk
Executive Director: James Zogby
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1980
Publications: ADC Reports, ADC Issues, ADC Background Papers

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) was organized in May, 1980, by former South Dakota Senator James Abourezk, and leading pro-PLO activist, James Zogby.

Although ADC contends that its purpose is to combat negative "stereotyping of Arabs in the U.S. media" and "discrimination against Arab-Americans in employment, education and political life," it has emerged as perhaps the most vocal and highly active pro-PLO propaganda group in the U.S. ADC's activities and publications reflect a number of political goals not included in its stated purpose, ranging from suspension of U.S. aid to Israel to provision of political support to suspected PLO terrorists residing in the U.S. ADC currently boasts 41 regional chapters across the country and a national membership of 11,000.

During ADC's first year of operation, the organization formed some 20 grassroots chapters. Marking the establishment of each new chapter, ADC held "outreach dinners" to mobilize the active support of local Arab-Americans and the sponsorship of public officials. During these founding dinners, ADC leaders consistently related the issue of Arab stereotyping to both U.S.-Israeli relations and the pro-Israel lobby. At the founding meeting in Los Angeles, for instance, Abourezk charged that "because of America's involvement with Israel, so many in this country are turning into fascists" and are defaming the Arab people.

According to Abourezk and Zogby, the 1980 Abscam scandal was a dramatic example of discriminatory stereotyping against Arab-Americans and served as the main inspiration for organizing ADC. The ADC leaders claimed that the FBI used Arabs in the "scam" because the U.S. media had "repeatedly accused them of buying up America." In response, ADC claims to have written letters of protest to all networks and newspapers which had reported on Abscam without noting that the "Arab sheik was an FBI myth."

Throughout the remainder of 1980, ADC lodged numerous other complaints with U.S. newspapers to protest alleged anti-Arab bias in reporting and in political cartoons. For instance, in response to a widely published Associated Press news story describing an "underground railroad" in Israel which had smuggled unmarried pregnant Arab women out of the occupied territories to prevent their being murdered at the hands of irate family members, ADC charged that the story was a deliberate attempt by AP "to arouse disgust for Palestinian Arabs and to show them to be a barbaric and dangerous people." ADC stated that the article was fraudulent, presenting "negative racist stereotypes as reality."

More recently, ADC attacked the New York Post for its pro-Israel stance as "nothing but a Jewish Defense League of print journalism."

ADC's criticism of the U.S. media extends to broadcasting journalism as well. In 1981, ADC filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission and met with ABC's Executive Producer concerning "The Unholy War," a television documentary about PLO terrorism in the Middle East. ADC charged that the program was a "misrepresentation and stereotyping of Palestinian Arabs."

In early 1981, ADC announced the formation of "ADC Monitoring Groups." These groups were to act as local links in "ADC's effort to establish a national network" capable of responding to "negative stereotyping and discrimination against people of Arab descent." ADC produced a "Media Monitoring Guide," designed to assist its media monitors in lodging complaints against the U.S. media.

Also during 1981, ADC joined the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, another pro-PLO group, in providing support for Arabs and suspected PLO members who have faced legal action in the U.S. For example, in 1981, ADC participated in the mobilization of a wide-scale campaign in defense of Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab who was then awaiting extradition from the U.S. to Israel where he had been charged with terrorism for planting a bomb which killed two persons and wounded 36 others. ADC organized a petition drive, candle light vigils, and a telegram campaign to then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig on behalf of Abu Eain. Abu Eain, however, was eventually extradited to Israel where he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Spurred by the June, 1982, Israeli military action in Lebanon, ADC embarked on a multi-faceted political action and propaganda campaign against Israel. In early June, ADC lobbied for passage of House Resolution 359, introduced by Rep. Nick Joe Rahall (D., WV), which called for a suspension of all U.S. arms to Israel. In addition to lobbying on Capitol Hill, ADC members met with Congressmen in their home districts to express their support for the Resolution.

During July and August, ADC placed 64 advertisements in 62 U.S. newspapers, calling on Americans to support a cut-off of U.S. economic and military aid to Israel. Suggesting that the \$2.2 billion a year given Israel in foreign aid could best be spent "at home," most of ADC's ads asked readers if their "City's Taxes" should "be Used to Kill People in Lebanon?"

Also in early summer, ADC organized a series of four Congressional Seminars on Capitol Hill in an attempt to "inform members of Congress" of its concerns about Israel and Lebanon. Each seminar had a legislative sponsor known for his sympathies for the Palestinian cause. The first seminar, sponsored by Rep. George Crockett (D., Mich.), focused on alleged Israeli repression on the West Bank and featured Felicia Langer, an Israeli attorney and member of that country's Communist Party, who has frequently defended Palestinian Arabs accused of terrorism or other violations of Israeli law. The second Congressional Seminar was sponsored by Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D., Wash., DC), and featured such leading figures in the pro-Arab propaganda network as Edward Said, Clovis Maksoud, and James Zogby. Sponsored by Rep. Nick Joe Rahall (D., WV), the third seminar gathered top leaders of the Christian clergy in an attempt to "counter the notion" that the Israeli action in Lebanon had aided the Christian community there. As a result of this seminar,

ADC issued a document entitled, "American Christians Speak Out For Peace In Lebanon: Statements From a Congressional Briefing." This publication contains the presentations of several seminar participants, including: Bishop Dale White of the United Methodist Church, Rev. John Badeen of the Antiochan Orthodox Archdiocese of North America, and James Henderson of the National Office for Black Catholics. The final ADC Congressional Seminar, held through the auspices of Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D., CA), focused on the future of the Palestinians in Lebanon. This seminar featured Hatem Hussaini, then-Director of the PLO's Information Office in Washington, D.C.

In August, ADC launched the "Save Lebanon Campaign" promoted as a "multi-faceted humanitarian campaign to aid the Palestinian victims of war." As part of this campaign, ADC initiated the "Save the Child Airlift," an effort to bring wounded Palestinian Arab children to the U.S. for medical treatment at the Arab-American-run Monsour Medical Center in Pittsburgh.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1982, ADC conducted several press conferences and issued press releases condemning the Israelis as "Nazis" and referring to the Israeli military action in Lebanon as both a war of "genocide" and a "Holocaust" against innocent Palestinians; coordinated a petition drive calling upon members of Congress to "suspend all U.S. military aid to Israel"; held "austerity dinners" in several U.S. cities to express solidarity with Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon; arranged speaking engagements on the "Israeli invasion"; and organized a nationwide U.S. speaking tour for Christopher Giannou, a Canadian doctor who spent two years working as chief surgeon in a PLO Palestine Red Crescent Society Hospital in Lebanon. In addition, ADC has produced a 22-minute film entitled "Report From Beirut: Summer of '82," which purports to depict atrocities of the war in Lebanon. ADC is planning to distribute this film to high schools and universities across the country.

In late November, 1982, ADC and 20 other organizations formally established "The Middle East Working Group," a coalition of pro-PLO church, peace, human rights and ethnic groups. The coalition's first activity was to lobby members of Congress against U.S. aid increases for Israel. Coalition members include the International League for Peace and Freedom, the Friends Center on National Legislation, and the Washington Area Jews Against the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon.

ADC recently formed a "Research Institute" headed by Eric Hooglund, a former professor of Middle East politics at Ohio State University. Since its establishment, ADC's "Research Institute" has published two anti-Israel documents. One is entitled "U.S. Press Coverage of the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," and the other is titled "Israel's Arms Exports: Proxy Merchants for the U.S." In addition, ADC publishes the ADC Background Papers, ADC Issues, and a bi-monthly membership publication entitled ADC Reports.

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL TRUST (AET)

Chairman: Edward Henderson
Executive Director: Richard Curtiss
President: Andrew I. Killgore
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1982
Publication: The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs

The American Educational Trust (AET), based in Washington, D.C., was founded in January, 1982 by a group of former State Department officials and businessmen as a non-profit foundation focusing on Middle East affairs. It was granted tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service in October, 1982.

The legal work for the IRS filing was handled by the Washington, D.C. law firm of Hogan and Hartson, which has been a registered foreign agent for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and for the United Arab Emirates.

As part of its program, AET provides speakers to educational, civic and religious groups through its "Middle East Speakers Referral Service," directed by John Duke Anthony, a former professor at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University who has long been involved in pro-Arab activities. In addition to providing speakers on Middle Eastern subjects, the Speakers Referral Service arranges travel plans to reduce expenses of sponsoring organizations. Some topics for which AET speakers are available are: "The Real Arabs vs. Western Stereotypes," "History of the Palestine Dispute," and the "Do's and Don't's for American Businessmen" in the Arab world.

AET has recently taken on the additional function of providing research and reference services to individuals engaged in research projects concerning the Middle East.

The AET's bi-weekly newsletter, The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs was first published on March 15, 1982. Each issue contains five regular features, including an update on the latest activities in Washington by both pro-Arab and pro-Israeli lobbying groups.

AET Chairman Edward Henderson is a former British Ambassador to Qatar. AET Executive Director Richard Curtiss was formerly the Chief Inspector of the International Communication Agency and until recently served as Secretary of the American-Arab Affairs Council. Andrew I. Killgore, AET President, is a former U.S. Ambassador to Qatar and a current member of the American-Arab Affairs Council's diplomatic advisory committee.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF RAMALLAH, PALESTINE (AFRP)

President: Audie Dudum
Headquarters: Detroit, Michigan
Founded: 1959

The American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine (AFRP) is a Detroit-based non-profit, tax-exempt, social, educational, and charitable organization incorporated in the State of Michigan. Founded in 1959, the AFRP claims to be the oldest and largest association of Palestinian Americans in the U.S. with a membership of thousands of Americans who trace their origins "to the city of Ramallah, Palestine."

The stated goals and purposes of the Federation are "to enhance close ties between all Ramallah people" in the U.S., "to orient the American public to the culture, heritage, and concerns of the Arab people," and to "promote the Palestinian cause on the American scene." In addition, an AFRP "Organizational Profile" states that as an association of Palestinian Americans, the group "has a duty to endeavor to change U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis the Palestinians from callous disdain to a position consistent with the national rights of self-determination for the Palestinian people."

Toward these goals, the AFRP has met with federal and local officials to urge cuts in U.S. aid to Israel, and "U.S. recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." In the fall of 1982, the AFRP sponsored several fund raising events for the re-election campaign of then Rep. Paul Findley, (R.-Ill.) who had been outspoken in his support for the PLO and the Palestinian cause.

AFRP maintains an "Educational Fund" through which it awards scholarships and financial aid to Palestinian students. Through its "Relief Fund," the Federation channels thousands of dollars each year to Palestinian refugees in the West Bank.

From time to time, the Federation has run full-page ads in U.S. newspapers. In one such AFRP advertisement, the organization asserted its support for the Palestine Liberation Organization by stating: "So long as one Palestinian lives -- irrespective as to whether that Palestinian is in Lebanon, in Palestine, in America, or elsewhere -- so long as one Palestinian lives, so too, does the struggle of the P.L.O. to return to Palestine."

Other AFRP activities include conducting press conferences, coordinating anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies, and holding yearly conventions.

The American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine is a member of the Palestine Congress of North America, an umbrella organization for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO groups.

AMERICAN NEAR EAST REFUGEE AID, INC. (ANERA)

President: Peter Gubser
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1968
Publication: ANERA Newsletter

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc., commonly known as ANERA, was launched in 1968 "in response to the refugee crisis brought on by the June 1967 war." ANERA described itself at the time as "a non-profit corporation created exclusively for charitable and educational purposes." It stated that its primary goal was "to provide subsistence aid, medical aid, and increased educational opportunities for Palestine refugees and other needy persons in the Middle East" through support received "entirely" from "voluntary contributions."

The Washington, D.C.-based group currently continues to proclaim its "charitable" objective to be the "assisting" of "Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and in the refugee camps." For ANERA, "Near East Refugee Aid" has always meant aid for Palestinian Arabs only.

In addition to soliciting contributions and sending donations to organizations in Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip for relief of Palestinian Arabs, another of ANERA's stated purposes has been to promote "understanding" among Americans of the "Palestinian refugee problem" and the "plight" of the Palestinian Arabs. In carrying out these objectives, ANERA has engaged in activities which have had a pro-Arab and anti-Israel propaganda impact.

ANERA officials, for example, have offered testimony before Congressional committees that deal with Middle East, Arab and Palestinian Arab matters. ANERA's long-time Chairman, Dr. John H. Davis, now the group's Chairman Emeritus, testified in late 1973 against a proposed U.S. aid bill for Israel. Davis, who served in the Middle East as Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) from 1959 to 1964, was characterized in the New York Times of April 6, 1970, as "probably the best-known American who is an outspoken supporter of the Arab cause."

In April, 1974, ANERA testified before a House sub-committee hearing on the status of Arab civilians in the Middle East. ANERA's then President, long-time pro-Arab activist John Richardson, and the witnesses assembled by ANERA, charged that Israel was violating international law and the human rights of Arab civilians. The witnesses included Dr. Israel Shahak, an Israeli who has been an outspoken critic of the Israeli government; M. Cherif Bassiouni, a Professor of Law at DePaul University who has been a leader of the pro-PLO Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG); and W.T. Mallison, Jr., Professor of International Law at George Washington University Law School and a leading pro-Arab scholar.

During 1974, ANERA also sought to reach a broader audience for its pro-Arab Palestinian "educational" activities through the use of radio. Kits of ANERA materials that included recordings for broadcast

were distributed free to radio stations around the country. The recordings contained messages from ANERA's Dr. John H. Davis; from then Sen. James G. Abourezk (D.-S.D.), who currently serves on ANERA's Board of Directors and heads the pro-PLO American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; and from Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.).

Over the years, ANERA has received substantial contributions from major American oil companies. The October-December, 1981 issue of the group's publication, ANERA Newsletter, for example, expressed gratitude to a number of corporations and foundations who "have contributed generously to ANERA and helped make many humanitarian projects of aid possible." Included were a number of oil companies. A study of ANERA's finances in its first years of operation -- 1968, 1969 and 1970 -- indicated that of \$474,130 in donations it received in those years, \$248,000, or 52%, came from oil companies. In addition, a number of oil company executives have been members of ANERA's Board of Directors.

In 1973, shortly after the Yom Kippur War and the start of the Arab oil embargo, Gulf Oil Corporation contributed \$2.2-million to ANERA -- a gift that was eight-times larger than ANERA's total receipts for the prior year. The Washington Post of December 5, 1973, reported that the money donated to ANERA would be given to the so-called Committee for Popular Donations in Kuwait and to the Red Crescent Society. Subsequently, in a report filed with the U.S. government, ANERA declared that it had made a gift of \$2-million to an obscure group in Kuwait called the Popular Committee to Aid Victims of the War.

In 1975, Time magazine of June 23, published an article about Arab and pro-Arab groups in the United States, entitled "Pushing the Arab Cause in America." One of the groups cited was ANERA. Time reported that the group budgeted \$300,000 a year in aid to Palestinian Arab refugees, and that American corporations supplied about 40% of the money, with oil companies putting up 30%. It said that ANERA's officers "often speak in the Arabs' behalf."

In 1981 and 1982, ANERA published pro-Arab Palestinian advertisements in the Christian Science Monitor entitled "Born As Refugees In Their Own Land." The ads which sought tax-deductible donations to ANERA, stated that "after years of exile and hardships of a military occupation, the Palestinians feel isolated, abandoned, forgotten," but that ANERA "has provided a way for concerned Americans to help."

In late October, 1982, ANERA President, Peter Gubser traveled "to Lebanon, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Israel, Jordan, and Syria" on a fact-finding mission. Accompanying him was Merle Thorpe, Jr., Foundation for Middle East Peace President and an ANERA board member.

ANERA's pro-Arab Palestinian message has also been presented in "Dear Friend" promotional and fundraising letters bearing Peter Gubser's name. These letters have been accompanied by a flyer entitled "The Tragedy Of The Palestinians Continues..." "The key to understanding the present day crisis in the Middle East," the ANERA flyer declares, "is the Palestinians' desire for freedom and self-determination."

In addition to its mailings and newspaper ads, ANERA's publication, ANERA Newsletter, has published numerous articles sympathetic to

the Palestinian Arab cause. The articles have borne such titles as "Refugees in the Occupied Territories," "ANERA in the Occupied Territories," "Palestinians as Refugees," and "Tension in the Occupied Territories."

AMERICAN PALESTINE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION (APEF)

Chairman: Hisham Sharabi
Co-Chairman: George Abed
Secretary/Treasurer: Michael Saah
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1977

The American Palestine Educational Foundation (APEF), a non-profit organization, was founded in 1977 in Washington, D.C. In 1978, it was granted tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service. APEF characterizes itself as an organization "dedicated to the service of the Palestinian Arab communities in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip." It claims to concentrate on improving educational, health, and cultural facilities for Israeli Arabs by providing financial support for the construction of nursery, elementary, and secondary schools, libraries, dispensaries and cultural centers. In its 1981 Annual Report, APEF announced that the Jerusalem Scholarship Program, its "largest and the most ambitious project to date" had met with great success in its efforts to provide scholarships to Israeli Arabs who wish to study at Israeli universities.

In addition to their stated charitable aims, the American Palestine Educational Foundation has engaged in efforts to influence U.S. opinion against Israel. One such effort took the form of providing substantial financial assistance for the production of "On Our Land," an anti-Israel film that has been promoted in the U.S. by several pro-PLO propaganda organizations, including the radical leftist November 29 Coalition. APEF has also lent financial support to the Palestine Red Crescent Society (purportedly a Red Cross-type organization), a subsidiary of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Fathi Arafat, Yasir Arafat's brother.

APEF's Board of Directors is comprised of individuals and leaders prominent in the pro-PLO propaganda hierarchy, including Hisham Sharabi, Samih Farsoun, George Hishmeh, Michael Saah and Raphael Calis.

AMERICANS FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING (AMEU)

Executive Director: John F. Mahoney
Headquarters: New York, NY
Founded: 1967
Publication: The Link

Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), launched shortly after the Six-Day War in 1967, is a non-profit, self-described "charitable" organization targeting members of the Christian church. Since its inception 15 years ago, AMEU has evolved into a major pro-Arab organization promoting the Palestinian cause.

According to its founding Executive Director, Rev. John Sutton, AMEU "was conceived to redress the terrific imbalance in the information in the United States about the Middle East." Early attempts undertaken by AMEU to "redress" that "imbalance" included the following:

- In the fall of 1973, American university presidents received a telegram stating that many Arabs are convinced that "Congress is under Zionist control" and offering AMEU's "educational and informational services" to set the record straight on U.S. Middle East policies.

- During the winter of 1974, in the midst of the Arab oil embargo, the Arab League's Information Centers mailed brochures to a number of service station owners in the Midwest, members of the interstate trucking industry, and to college professors explaining how the Arab states felt about Israel. Attached to each brochure was a covering letter from AMEU stating that since the organization believed it was "vital for Americans to know what it is the Arabs are saying," AMEU had reprinted the Arab League pamphlet "as a public service."

AMEU publishes a bi-monthly newsletter, The Link, which it distributes free of charge to a readership of approximately 40,000, including clergy, universities, high school teachers, libraries, businessmen, members of Congress, and State Department officials. Highly critical of Israel, The Link functions as a pro-Arab propaganda organ portraying the Israeli government as "repressive" and "intransigent" while characterizing the Arab states and the PLO in a positive light. In addition, every edition of The Link carries a section entitled "Books To Order" promoting anti-Israel publications such as The Palestine Problem: An Annotated Biography 1967-1980, by Hatem Hussaini, the current Deputy Permanent Observer of the PLO at the United Nations and former Director of the PLO's Information Office in Washington, D.C.; The Zionist Connection: What Price Peace? by the well-known anti-Zionist and pro-Arab propagandist, Alfred Lilienthal; and Israel's Secret Terrorism, authored by Livia Rokach, and published by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, a leading pro-PLO propaganda organization in the U.S.

Both The Link and its publisher, AMEU, are essentially creations of American oil company funding. The Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO, then owned by Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and the Standard Oil Co. of California) provided \$86,300 of the \$89,757 the organization received in

1968, AMEU's first full year of operation. This pattern has continued, with ARAMCO contributing \$75,000 per year to AMEU between 1977 and 1980.

AMEU's Board Members and National Council primarily consist of "Arabists" and pro-PLO sympathizers such as: James Akins, John H. Davis, Grace Halsell, and L. Humphrey Walz.

ARAB WOMEN'S COUNCIL

President: Nouha Alhegelan
Executive Director: Hala Maksoud
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1982

The Arab Women's Council is a new organization that emerged in June, 1982, following Israel's military action against the PLO in Lebanon. Headed by Nouha Alhegelan, the wife of the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the U.S., and Hala Maksoud, wife of the Arab League Ambassador to the United Nations, the Arab Women's Council, embarked on a multifaceted propaganda campaign to gain support for the Palestinian cause in the United States. According to an Arab Women's Council release, the group has been trying to convince the American public to pressure U.S. political leaders to "stop the sale of U.S. weapons [to Israel] for use against the Lebanese people."

With the aid of Gray & Co., a prestigious Washington, D.C. public relations firm, headed by Robert K. Gray, which the Council employed, the organization has attempted to win a Palestinian political victory in the U.S. to offset losses in Lebanon. Gray is a long-time political supporter of President Reagan. To accomplish its goal, the Council published several full-page advertisements in newspapers across the U.S., one of which was headlined "Begin's Holocaust in Lebanon." The Council also sponsored spot advertisements on local radio shows in Washington, D.C. In addition, Council President Nouha Alhegelan met with Nancy Reagan and National Security Advisor William Clark in an effort "to humanize" the casualties in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon."

The Arab Women's Council has attracted a considerable amount of press coverage by staging such media-oriented events as all-night candle light vigils in front of the White House, a hunger strike, and a 14-day, 20-city media blitz in which, with the help of Gray, the women conducted 91 press interviews.

The Arab Women's Council has also been involved in direct mail campaigns against Israel. One such action was an appeal to more than 2,000 Americans who had written letters of gratitude to the Algerian Embassy because of Algeria's role in helping to free the American hostages held by Iran. The Algerians, who had kept the return addresses on these letters, turned them over to the Arab Women's Council. The Council used this list to circulate a short letter to those who had written the Algerians asking the recipients to write to the U.S. government "to stop this massacre" and "demand that Israeli invaders withdraw immediately" from Lebanon. The return address used by the Arab Women's Council in this mail campaign was that of the Arab League's Arab Information Office in Washington, D.C.

Another anti-Israel letter campaign in which the Arab Women's Council took part was a mailing of 80,000 letters from a group called the Peace Corps Alumni for Middle East Understanding (PCAMEU). The letters urged former Peace Corps workers to lobby for a change in U.S. policy towards Israel by writing government officials to demand an "immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and a sharp reduction

in American military and economic aid to Israel." Postage for the 80,000 letters was paid for by the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington, D.C. The envelopes containing the letters bore the Saudi Embassy's postage meter number. The Peace Corps office "referred questions about how to make contributions to the group to the Arab Women's Council" which served as a channel for both money and information for PCAMEU.

Most recently, the Council sponsored a month-long tour across the U.S. for Dr. Amal Shamma. Dr. Shamma, an American, served as Chief of Pediatrics at the Berbir Medical Center in Beirut during this summer's war in Lebanon. In her talks Shamma has been highly critical of both Israel, and U.S. policies in the Middle East, which, she says, have only brought war to the region. One corrective measure advocated by Shamma is a reduction in "arms going to Israel" from the United States.

In the two week period between June 15 and July 1, 1982, the Arab Women's Council spent \$300,000 on their media drive against Israel.

ASSOCIATION OF ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES (AAUG)

President: John Makhouli
Founded: 1967
Headquarters: Belmont, Massachusetts
Publication: AAUG Newsletter

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) was incorporated as a non-profit "educational and cultural" organization in Michigan in 1968, and was granted tax-exempt status by the IRS two years later. Also during 1970, the AAUG was granted Non-Governmental Organization "observer" status at the U.N. The intellectually oriented AAUG has been for many years one of the most active pro-PLO, anti-Israel propaganda groups on the American scene. The AAUG has approximately 2,000 members - most of them academic figures.

Although it claims to promote "knowledge and understanding of cultural, scientific, and educational matters between the Arab and American peoples," AAUG has frequently engaged in anti-Israel political activity. It has strongly opposed American aid to Israel. AAUG professors and legal scholars have served as witnesses before Congressional committees dealing with Middle East issues, have organized pro-Palestinian marches and rallies, have been resource persons at Middle East "teach-ins," and have worked on films and TV shows to present the pro-PLO viewpoint. AAUG's political outlook is left-of-center.

Structurally, the AAUG consists of a Board of Directors and an Advisory Board, composed of the current national president, past national and chapter presidents, and various members appointed by the Board of Directors. The Association's programs and policies are implemented by standing committees concerned with such subjects as budget, publications and education. The Education Committee has conducted studies of instructional materials in American schools to investigate areas of alleged anti-Arab bias.

The close relationship between AAUG and the PLO was illustrated by the message sent by PLO chairman Yasir Arafat to the Association's 1979 National Convention. Arafat's message read in part:

"As vanguard of the Arab and international struggle, the Palestinian revolution today stands firm and steadfast in the face of imperialist and Zionist plots and threats. Our freedom fighters, guns, and the alliance of our revolution with the Lebanese National Movement have defeated all imperialist attacks...

We are confident you will continue to raise your voices for the freedom of all our Palestinian prisoners in Zionist jails...

We welcome your support of the PLO's goal as proclaimed by the Palestine National Council, namely, the establishment of the Palestinian Independent state...

Revolution until victory."

Also indicative of the close ties between the AAUG and the PLO was a three-day seminar held June 19-21, 1979 in Beirut under the joint auspices of the AAUG and Palestinian Affairs, a monthly magazine published in Arabic by the PLO Research Center. The conference, which was convened to analyze and probe U.S. Middle East policy, was attended by PLO chief Yasir Arafat and Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department.

In conjunction with other pro-PLO organizations, AAUG has provided support for Arabs and suspected PLO members who have faced legal action in the U.S. In 1981, AAUG assisted in the propaganda campaign on behalf of Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab who was then awaiting extradition from the U.S. to Israel where he had been charged with terrorism for planting a bomb which killed two persons and wounded 36 others. Abu Eain was eventually extradited to Israel where he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment in connection with the fatal bombing.

In addition, at its 1980 convention, the AAUG honored Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, who had been convicted and imprisoned in Israel for arms smuggling. The AAUG awarded Capucci for his "major contribution to the world community."

Other AAUG anti-Israel propaganda activities in 1980 included a press conference on the "West Bank Today: Repression and Resistance," and a press release protesting Israel's closure of Bir Zeit University, a center of pro-PLO activity on the West Bank. This press release described alleged Israeli educational repression as "part of a stepped-up campaign by the [Israeli] military government to suppress the independence and destroy the academic freedom of Palestinian educational institutions."

In recent years, the AAUG has produced two important offshoots on the Arab-American propaganda scene. The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), formerly headed by James Zogby, was an outgrowth of the AAUG's Palestine Human Rights Coalition. Describing itself as a humanitarian group, the PHRC seeks to exploit the American concern for human rights in order to undermine U.S. support for Israel. Another AAUG spin-off is the Institute of Arab Studies, which describes itself as a "scientific, educational, cultural and charitable organization." Founded in 1979, the Institute is located in Belmont, Massachusetts, where it shares its headquarters with the AAUG. In addition to various educational activities, the IAS co-publishes the Arab Studies Quarterly with the AAUG, which previously published the journal on its own.

Over the years, AAUG has engaged in a wide range of intellectually oriented activities, directing its anti-Israel themes at academic, professional and political audiences.

Materials produced by AAUG have included a color film-strip called "Palestine Is the Issue," an anti-Israel propaganda piece that "recounts the demographic transformation of Palestine from a settled and productive Arab country to the settler-state of modern Israel..., calls for a clear revision of U.S. policy in the Middle East, and for the establishment of a democratic, non-sectarian state in Palestine..." The latter phrase is reminiscent of the PLO's frequent call for a "democratic secular state in all of Palestine." The fact that the AAUG's

view of Israel should parallel that of the PLO is not surprising, as Professor Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown University, an AAUG founder, has stated that AAUG "identifies openly with the Palestine Liberation Organization."

Educational materials produced by AAUG include at least fifty books, monographs, "information papers," and bibliographies. Contributors to these publications have included such prominent pro-PLO, anti-Israel propagandists as Eqbal Ahmad, Edward Said, Elmer Berger, Israel Shahak, Hatem Hussaini, Naseer Aruri, James Zogby and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod.

AAUG's intellectually oriented, scholarly approach to its work can also be seen in the themes and programs of its annual conventions. In recent years these meetings have featured panel discussions, frequently chaired by academic figures, on such topics as "Perception of Islam in High School Textbooks"; "Arabs in Information Media"; "Democracy and Human Rights in the Arab World"; and "Images of Arab Society in Arabic Literature and Art Forms."

The Association's 15th annual convention, held in October, 1982 in Montreal, was centered around the theme of "The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon: Regional and Global Implications." Several panels and workshops dealt with domestic and international political and propaganda aspects of the subject. The convention featured Dr. Fathi Arafat, head of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, a Red-Cross type organization that is part of the PLO. Fathi Arafat is the brother of PLO chief Yasir Arafat. In addition, the convention featured Dr. Christopher Giannou, a Canadian surgeon also affiliated with the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Dr. Giannou has been touring the U.S. charging Israel with committing atrocities against the Palestinians in Lebanon.

Spurred by the 1982 Israeli military action in Lebanon the AAUG embarked on a wide-scale propaganda campaign against Israel. The AAUG national office issued numerous "fact sheets" and memoranda on the situation in Lebanon, several of which quoted highly exaggerated civilian casualty figures -- such as the Palestine Red Crescent Society's allegations that 600,000 had been rendered homeless in Southern Lebanon. In addition, the AAUG held press conferences condemning the "Israeli invasion," and co-sponsored anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies.

AAUG's left-orientation has facilitated its pro-PLO penetration of the American left community. AAUG played an active role in the formation of the Middle East contingent that marched in the May 3, 1981 anti-war demonstration. This Washington, D.C. demonstration reflected a broad coalition of American leftist groups. The AAUG has also solicited support from the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), one of the most active pro-PLO support groups on the American far-left. In a 1981 letter of solicitation addressed to "Friends" of the PSC, the AAUG described itself as "an organization that shares your concern" over U.S. Mideast policy. In addition, in 1982, the AAUG placed an advertisement for some of its publications in a Middle East supplement of the Guardian, a self-described "independent radical news weekly."

Another way in which AAUG has sought to broaden American support for its pro-PLO positions has been its outreach to some liberal

churches and to certain Black leaders. Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH and Rev. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference addressed the AAUG twelfth annual convention in 1979. At the 1980 AAUG convention, Don Will, an official of the United Methodist Church, chaired a panel entitled "The Middle East and the Politics of the American Church." Other panel participants included additional staff members of the Methodist church; a representative of the National Black Pastors' Conference; and a staff member of the Middle East Research & Information Project, a leftist oriented pro-Arab research and propaganda group.

The AAUG has sponsored delegations to the Arab world "from varying sectors of American society, including civil libertarians, peace activists, church groups, ethnic groups, academicians and others." In addition, AAUG has sponsored summer tours to the Middle East for Arab-American youth.

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY

President: John P. Richardson
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1981

Publication: Center for Middle East Policy Newsletter

The Center for Middle East Policy, an outgrowth of the now-defunct Center for U.S.-European Middle East Cooperation, is a private organization which aims to move the United States away from what the Center considers to be a pro-Israel Middle East policy and to align the U.S. posture with that of its Western European and Japanese allies. In this connection, the Center plans to "assist in identifying courses of action open to United States policy makers in addressing Middle East issues in the years to come."

In 1982, the Center had set plans to launch a major project to "define a comprehensive security policy for the United States toward the Middle East in the period 1985-95 that the American people and Congress can endorse and which U.S. friends and allies will recognize and support as contributing to global stability and their own security."

In furtherance of these goals, the Center convenes conferences and symposia on the Middle East, works with representatives of the governments concerned, organizes speaking tours, and distributes pertinent Middle East materials relating to the Center's work and point of view.

Recent activities sponsored by the Center include: the coordination of a 13-day, 7-city lecture tour on "Europe and the Middle East," for Le Monde correspondent Eric Rouleau, an outspoken critic of Israel; the distribution to a large audience, including Congressional staff aides, of Seth Tillman's (a former aide to ex-Sen. J. William Fulbright) book called The United States in the Middle East: Interests and Obstacles, in which the author targets U.S. support for Israel as the main obstacle to securing American strategic interests in the Middle East; and a one-day seminar on "The Middle East: Press Perspectives and National Policies."

John P. Richardson, President of the Center for Middle East Policy has been known for his pro-Arab activities for almost twenty years. Richardson previously served as President of the American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc., a Washington-based organization which provides subsistence aid to Palestinian refugees and seeks to promote American understanding of the Palestinian refugee problem. He later served as Director of Public Affairs and chief lobbyist for the National Association of Arab Americans, an Arab-American lobbying organization. The Center's Board of Directors and Advisory Council consists of academicians and former State Department "Arabists" all of whom are known for their critical views of Israel.

FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

President: Merle Thorpe, Jr.
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1980

The Foundation for Middle East Peace was founded in 1980 in Washington, D.C. as a non-profit tax-exempt organization. The Foundation's stated purpose is "to assist in an understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. . . and to contribute to a just and peaceful resolution of the conflict with security for both peoples." Despite the Foundation's declared objectivity, the sum total of its activities to date, indicates a decided slant toward the anti-Israel pro-Palestinian position.

In November, 1980, the Foundation published a 36-page booklet entitled "The West Bank: Hostage of History," reprinting eight Washington Post articles which were highly critical of Israel. The booklet contained an introduction by former Senator Adlai E. Stevenson, III. In early 1981, a television documentary entitled "Israel and Palestinians: Will Reason Prevail?" was sponsored by the Foundation for Middle East Peace and produced and written by John Wallach of Hearst Publications. It was shown on PBS in Washington, D.C. and in New York, was praised by viewers sympathetic to the Arab and PLO cause, and sharply criticized by supporters of Israel.

In addition to these activities, Foundation for Middle East Peace President Merle Thorpe, Jr., acting on behalf of the Foundation, has written letters favoring the Arab position to leading newspapers and magazines; was co-author of "The Path to Peace: Arab-Israeli Peace and the United States," a 50-page report issued under the auspices of the Seven Springs Center, which soft-peddled PLO extremism while magnifying Israeli and Jewish dissension; testified before the Middle East subcommittee of the House of Representatives committee on Foreign Affairs, where he charged Israel with repression and attempted annexation of the West Bank; and has had several meetings with PLO leader Yasir Arafat. The Foundation has also contributed funds to such well-known pro-Arab and anti-Israel organizations as the Association of American-Arab University Graduates, American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, and American Near East Refugee Aid.

Merle Thorpe, Jr. is a senior partner with the Washington, D.C. law firm of Hogan and Hartson, which has been a registered foreign agent for Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS (GUPS)

Headquarters: Beirut, Lebanon

Founded: 1959

Publication: Palestine

The General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) was founded in November, 1959, as a worldwide organization for Palestinian students "in occupied Palestine and the Diaspora." PLO chairman Yasir Arafat himself was a founder-member of the organization while a student at Cairo University.

Since 1968, GUPS has been represented in the Palestine National Council, the highest decision-making body of the PLO. GUPS, therefore, is bound by the PLO's Palestine National Covenant, which calls for the "liquidation" of the "Zionist entity," Israel. As components of the Palestine Liberation Organization, local GUPS chapters in the U.S. have received directives from the GUPS headquarters in the Middle East concerning ways to promote the PLO's message in America, particularly among students.

The declared aims of GUPS in the U.S. are to "promote the investigation and understanding of the truth about violations against the human rights of Palestinians; expose Israeli aggression against the Palestinians in occupied Palestine, especially against students"; and to secure "fundamental freedom for the Palestinian people."

In furtherance of these aims, GUPS maintains 70 local chapters on American college campuses which have actively promoted pro-PLO and anti-Israel propaganda through demonstrations, rallies, literature, films, panel discussions and conventions that frequently feature pro-PLO spokesmen.

Recent GUPS activities have included: publication of an advertisement in the student newspaper of the University of Houston comparing Israel's treatment of the Palestinians to "Hitler's Oppression of the Jews"; the organization of a March, 1981, "National Demonstration in Support of Ziad Abu Eain," a Palestinian Arab charged by Israel and found guilty of planting a bomb which killed two persons and wounded 36 others; the coordination of a May 15, 1981, rally called in seven U.S. cities to "oppose Israeli occupation of Palestine, Zionism and racism"; the coordination of several anti-Israeli demonstrations in the summer of 1982 opposing the Israeli action against the PLO in Lebanon; and the circulation of GUPS-produced pamphlets on college campuses.

On July 15, 1982, GUPS issued 5,000 first edition copies of its publication, Palestine, a tabloid supporting the PLO.

GUPS is a member of the Palestine Congress of North America, an umbrella group of more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO organizations.

HOLY LAND STATE COMMITTEE

Chairman: Haviv Schieber
Headquarters: Fairfax, Virginia
Founded: 1968
Publication: Holy Land State Committee Bulletin

The Holy Land State Committee is an anti-Israel pro-Palestinian propaganda organization headed by Haviv Schieber, an anti-Zionist Jew and former citizen of Israel who claims to be the "first Israeli to seek political asylum in the United States and survive the Zionist wrath." Founded in 1968, the Holy Land State Committee advocates the "creation of a demilitarized Holy Land State in Israel-Palestine which would offer freedom for Jews, Christians and Moslems." Fundamental to this envisioned plan for a Holy Land State, however, is the eradication of Zionism and the elimination of Israel as a sovereign Jewish state.

Since its formation, the Committee has functioned essentially as a one-man propaganda operation, with Schieber engaging in various anti-Israel activities that have included several letter writing campaigns to top government officials and members of Congress. In these letters, Schieber and the Committee have warned against "Zionist interference that is misleading and brainwashing both American Gentiles and American Jews," "Zionist blackmail and sabotage of the petro-dollar investments in the United States," and the "unregistered Zionist betrayers" who are "polluting the democratic system internally and railroading U.S. foreign policy to support bankrupt Israel and bankrupt Zionist aims."

During the 1981 AWACS campaign, the Committee supported the Saudis by sending mass mailings to all members of Congress and to local government officials urging approval of the sale of the U.S. military equipment to Saudi Arabia. In addition, the organization has on occasion placed several anti-Israel advertisements in U.S. newspapers and has sponsored yearly conventions. A flyer, sent by Schieber announcing the 1982 Holy Land State Committee Convention read in part: "During the first weekend in December, 1982, an effort to free our political structures from the constraints of Zionist influence will take place in Washington." The 1982 Convention, billed as the "Founding Convention for the Creation of a Holy Land State," featured such critics of Israel as Rabbi Elmer Berger, Dr. John Davis, Grace Halsell, and Mark Lane.

Over the years, Schieber has enjoyed support from Liberty Lobby, the largest and best financed anti-Jewish hate organization in America. Liberty Lobby's publication, The Spotlight, has contained several articles by Schieber and has published advertisements promoting several Holy Land State Committee conventions. As illustrated in the case of the most recent Holy Land State convention, Schieber has been joined in his work by other pro-Palestinian propagandists seeking to exploit his call for the founding of a Holy Land State for their own purposes.

THE INSTITUTE OF ARAB STUDIES (IAS)

Director: Muhammad Hallaj
Headquarters: Belmont, Massachusetts
Founded: 1979
Publication: Arab Studies Quarterly

The Institute of Arab Studies (IAS), a spin-off of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), was founded by a group of Arab-American academics as a non-profit "scientific, educational, cultural and charitable organization" in the state of Massachusetts in May, 1979. One year later it was granted tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service. Located in Belmont, Massachusetts, the Institute's building, owned jointly with the AAUG, provides facilities for both groups.

The stated purpose of the Institute of Arab Studies is to "provide scholars as well as the general community with the facilities, structure, and freedom to study the Arab World." Toward that goal, the Institute sponsors research papers, conducts international seminars, public lecture series, and occasional workshops for various audiences including student, church and civic groups who express interest in the Arab world. In addition, the Institute has joined the AAUG as co-publisher of the Arab Studies Quarterly, an intellectually-oriented journal on Arab affairs, first published by the AAUG one year before IAS was established.

Recent activities sponsored by the Institute include its Second International Seminar on "The Impact of Money: Dynamics of Power Dependency in the Arab World"; a six-week lecture series on "The Arab World and the Arts"; the co-organization of a September 20, 1982 anti-Israel demonstration held in Boston; and more recently, the commissioning of a poll done by Decision/Making/Information (DMI), a U.S. national research institute to ascertain public opinion regarding Israel and the Palestinians particularly after the fighting in Lebanon and the Beirut massacre.

The Institute's current Director, Dr. Muhammad Hallaj, is a visiting scholar at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and former Vice President for Academic Affairs at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank. IAS's board of directors include several well-known Arab propagandists including Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Naseer Aruri, Samih Farsoun, Hassan Haddad, and Edward Said.

MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH & INFORMATION PROJECT (MERIP)

Headquarters: Cambridge, MA; New York, NY; Washington, D.C.

Founded: 1971

Publication: MERIP Reports

The Middle East Research & Information Project (MERIP) was formed as a non-profit tax-exempt organization by a group of left-wing activists in 1971. MERIP maintains three offices: one each in Cambridge, Massachusetts, New York City, and Washington, D.C.

MERIP's stated objective is to provide an "independent critical perspective" on the Middle East through the distribution of literature, films, slides and posters, and through its own Speakers Network. In reality, however, MERIP functions as a pro-Arab research and propaganda outlet in the United States for the Palestinian movement and as a possible source of recruitment for that cause. Its publication, MERIP Reports, published nine times annually, is a heavily researched, well-written magazine with a left-wing orientation.

Although most of MERIP's work is centered on the production of its publication, the group is not limited to that function. For instance, an August 12, 1982 MERIP press release urged action on behalf of Joan Mandell, a member of the editorial board of MERIP Reports. According to the press release Ms. Mandell had been imprisoned by the Israelis for impersonating a journalist and "stealing a [spent] bullet." Israeli authorities assert that Ms. Mandell had been detained for removing evidence that was to be used in a political trial. MERIP also has a close connection to Icarus Films, a company headed by Ilan Ziv, which produces and promotes pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel films. In addition to promoting PLO propaganda films for rental and sale, Icarus has also produced a "Preliminary Resource List" of articles and publications on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict -- all of which are critical of Israel and sympathetic to the Palestinians. The list includes such pro-PLO materials as MERIP Reports, "Israeli Torture of Palestinian Political Prisoners in Jerusalem and the West Bank," by Alexandra U. Johnson, and the Journal of Palestine Studies, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut, Lebanon. Furthermore, the Icarus Films brochure is frequently mailed to recipients with a promotional piece for MERIP Reports. MERIP is also known to have provided financial assistance to other pro-PLO organizations such as the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

A number of MERIP's staff and editorial contributors engage in Arab propaganda activities outside of MERIP. Lynne Barbee, an editor of MERIP Reports has been a contributor to Arab Perspectives, the publication of the Arab League, and a paid researcher for the PLO's Washington, D.C. Information Office. Larry Ekin, associate editor of MERIP Reports, has contributed to the pro-Arab, church-oriented publication, The Link, and has participated in activities of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, and the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon. Samih Farsoun, a MERIP Reports contributing editor, has served as a past president of both the Association of Arab-American University Graduates and the Palestine Congress of North America, two pro-PLO propaganda organizations. All three are members of the MERIP Speakers Network.

MIDDLE EAST RESOURCE CENTER (MERC)

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Founded: 1975

Publication: Palestine/Israel Bulletin

The Middle East Resource Center (MERC), established in 1975, is a Washington, D.C. offshoot of the Boston-based group, Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine (SEARCH). SEARCH is an anti-Israel, pro-PLO organization headed by Edmund R. Hanauer. Since its inception, MERC has become an integral component of the PLO support network in Washington.

While not a registered lobbying organization, MERC's organizers have declared that the group's major function is to inform members of Congress, journalists, and citizen groups about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. MERC distributes Middle East materials on Capitol Hill, arranges meetings between Palestinian Arabs and members of Congress, and coordinates meetings between anti-Israeli Jews, government officials, and peace, church, and human rights leaders. Together with SEARCH, MERC publishes a monthly newsletter called Palestine/Israel Bulletin, which features articles calling for cuts in U.S. aid to Israel and criticism of Israel's human rights policies. While MERC's literature does not directly promote the PLO, it does contain a pro-PLO thrust and consistently attacks Israel.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARAB AMERICANS (NAAA)

Executive Director: David Sadd

President: Robert Joseph

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Founded: 1972

Publications: Focus, Counterpoint, Voice, and Middle East Business Survey

Founded in 1972, the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) is a Washington, D.C.-based Arab lobbying organization. Functioning as the principal political action organization for Americans of Arab ancestry, NAAA is the chief political voice for the Arab-American community. The organization registered as a lobbyist on Capitol Hill in 1978.

According to State Department estimates, NAAA has an approximate membership of 4,000. NAAA claims to have 20 organizational chapters across the U.S., and members and political activists in all 50 states, the Virgin Islands, Costa Rica and Puerto Rico.

Over the years, the organization has lobbied extensively against Israel and in support of Arab interests and the Palestinian Arab cause. NAAA recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole authoritative voice of the Palestinian people, and has urged U.S. recognition and direct talks with the terrorist organization.

In the summer and fall of 1981, NAAA concentrated its lobbying efforts on gaining Congressional approval of the \$8.5 billion sale of Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia. These efforts included: testifying before the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees; circulating memoranda in support of the sale on Capitol Hill; meeting with Congressmen, and other government officials; and waging an "extensive grass-roots campaign urging thousands of Americans to inform their Representatives of the importance of the sale."

Also in 1981, NAAA met with government officials on behalf of Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab who was then awaiting extradition from the U.S. to Israel where he had been charged with terrorism for planting a bomb in Tiberias which killed two persons and wounded 36 others (Abu Eain was subsequently extradited to Israel, tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment); issued memoranda calling for cuts in U.S. aid to Israel in response to Israel's extension of Israeli law to the Golan Heights and its bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor; and met with State Department and Congressional officials to protest alleged Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights.

In late 1981, NAAA developed a nationwide grass-roots support network called the "Congressional District Coordinator Network." This program has been designed to prepare NAAA members (Congressional District Coordinators) to engage in political activities in their home districts, thereby carrying NAAA's message to Congressional officials at the local level. At a recent NAAA Congressional District Coordinator training seminar held in Washington, D.C., NAAA "volunteer

lobbyists" received instruction on how to be most effective when visiting members of Congress.

Spurred by the June, 1982, Israeli military action in Lebanon, the NAAA embarked on a multi-faceted political action and propaganda campaign against Israel. A June, 1982 letter from NAAA Executive Director David Sadd asked its recipients to sign an accompanying petition addressed to President Reagan, and mail enclosed postcards, which demanded "a complete cut-off of U.S. foreign and military aid to Israel," to President Reagan, their Senators and Congressmen. The letter, which was distributed to thousands of "concerned citizens across the nation" stated that "the Israelis -- who pretend to be such high-minded humanitarians have become nothing more than international terrorists -- terrorists who are milking the American public for BILLIONS every year in foreign and military aid."

Throughout the summer and fall of 1982, NAAA co-sponsored demonstrations and rallies protesting the Israeli action in Lebanon; conducted press conferences and issued press releases condemning Israel and calling for a halt to U.S. military aid to Israel "to force Israel's immediate withdrawal" from Lebanon; authorized NAAA "volunteer lobbyists" to meet with their incumbent Congressional officials to "explain NAAA's position on reducing aid to Israel"; circulated a five-question survey to Congressmen designed "to gauge Congressional support" for President Reagan's Middle East peace plan; and issued numerous memoranda to NAAA supporters requesting that they let their views be heard by writing or phoning the White House and their Congressional representatives. In addition, NAAA conducted a poll of 100 Senate offices asking them to evaluate whether their constituent mail favored or opposed the Israeli military action in Lebanon.

On October 25, 1982, the NAAA launched a four-city test campaign designed to sway U.S. public opinion and curb American aid to Israel. Initiated just after the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and just prior to the U.S. Congressional elections, the test drive has been part of a larger, organized plan to publicize the level of U.S. aid to Israel, "in the hope of building it into a campaign issue" during the November 1982 elections.

The four-city test campaign consisted of newspaper advertisements, radio spots, and roadside billboard postings, in the cities of Albany, New York; Little Rock, Arkansas; San Mateo, California; and Topeka, Kansas. The newspaper ads, headed: "Lebanon '82" in lettering suggestive of dripping blood, asked Americans, "WAS THIS WHAT WE HAD IN MIND WHEN WE GAVE BILLIONS OF OUR TAX DOLLARS TO ISRAEL?" The pilot ads contained coupons to be detached and mailed to NAAA if the sender wished "to become more involved" in the organization's work.

In December, 1982, NAAA announced that Pittsburgh was to be included among the target cities for its media campaign designed to generate opposition to U.S. aid to Israel. An NAAA Public Service Radio Spot, aired on a local Pennsylvania station, focused on the Senate Appropriations Committee vote to increase U.S. aid to Israel. In the radio spot, NAAA targeted both Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, a member of that Committee, and Israel for attack. The broadcast stated in part:

"After slaughtering innocent men, women and children in Lebanon, Israel arrogantly dismissed President Reagan's Middle East peace plan. They rejected the President's appeal to halt new Jewish settlements in the West Bank and refused to withdraw their troops from Lebanon. Should Americans reward Israel for this kind of behavior while there are more than 12 million Americans unemployed with 140,000 in the Pittsburgh area alone? Senator Specter's Committee voted to give Israel a total of \$2,610,000,000 of your tax dollars. Ask Senator Specter if Israel is more important than Pennsylvania."

NAAA's media campaign has been designed by the prestigious Washington, D.C. public relations firm, Gray & Co., headed by Robert K. Gray, a long-time supporter of President Reagan. In early January, 1983, Gray dropped the NAAA as a client. Gray managed both the Arab Women's Council's media blitz, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee's anti-Israel advertising drive this past summer.

According to a claim by NAAA's Communications Director, Ron Cathell, this campaign is to be NAAA's "largest and most expensive media blitz to-date."

NAAA claims an annual budget of \$500,000. The organization receives money from yearly memberships, contributions, and from advertisements placed by Arab governments and private corporations in its annual business publication, Middle East Business Survey (MEBUS). In addition, NAAA's financial status has recently been boosted by the establishment of its newly-formed subsidiary, Middle East Policy & Research Corporation (MEPARC) in September, 1982. MEPARC functions as a data-gathering and consulting service for individuals and American corporations conducting business in the Arab world. It provides its clients with data in 11 different areas relating to the Mideast, including the voting records of individual Congressmen on Middle East issues. MEPARC is headed by NAAA President Robert Joseph. John Duke Anthony, a Johns Hopkins University professor and a well-known critic of Israel, has been enlisted to edit MEPARC's reports.

In addition to the Middle East Business Survey, the NAAA publishes a series of position papers on Middle Eastern affairs called Counterpoint; a bi-weekly political newsletter, Focus; and a monthly membership publication, entitled Voice.

NOVEMBER 29 COALITION

Headquarters: New York, NY
Founded: 1981

The November 29 Coalition is a pro-PLO organization composed of radical leftist groups and Arab-American organizations that are either part of the PLO or are closely aligned with it.

The November 29 Coalition was formed during 1981 to promote support for the PLO on the American scene. It takes its name from the day designated by the United Nations as an annual "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people." Some of the literature distributed by the November 29 Coalition has borne the imprimatur of the PLO Information Office in Washington, D.C. Other materials circulated by the Coalition have been reprinted from the PFLP Bulletin, an English-language publication of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist faction of the PLO headed by Dr. George Habash. The PFLP achieved worldwide notoriety during the 1970s for airplane hijackings and other acts of international terrorism.

The original activity of the November 29 Coalition was to stage public demonstrations in several U.S. cities to support the PLO. These took place on November 28, 1981, in New York, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., as part of the 1981 "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People."

The Coalition was relatively inactive for a number of months following the November 28 demonstrations but was reactivated in June, 1982, after the Israeli action in Lebanon. The November 29 Coalition subsequently held a series of "teach-ins" in New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Seattle, Baltimore, San Francisco and Austin, Texas. A total of some 3,000 persons attended the seven teach-ins. The November 29 Coalition also held several press conferences in New York and a number of organizing meetings to prepare for future activities.

The organization's activities have been heavily publicized in radical leftist publications such as Workers World, organ of the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist splinter party headquartered in New York; The Militant, publication of the communist Socialist Workers Party, also headquartered in New York; and Guardian, which describes itself as an "independent radical newsweekly."

The November 29 Coalition was the initiator of a September 11, 1982, "March on Washington" staged to "oppose the U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon." The Coalition had support for the "March" from several organizations aligned with the PLO. These included the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA); the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), which is affiliated with the PLO; and the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG).

Individual "endorsers" of the September 11 "March" included such well-known radical activists as Daniel and Philip Berrigan, David Dellinger, and attorney William Kunstler.

On the surface, the November 29 Coalition appears to be just one more of a number of alliances between radical leftists and elements in the Arab and Arab-American communities closely aligned with the PLO. However, close observation and analysis of the activities of the November 29 Coalition indicate that it appears to be a de facto alliance between U.S. adherents of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (who set the Coalition's political "line" and organizational strategy), and the Workers World Party which provides the foot soldiers through its own affiliates and front groups. These include Youth Against War and Fascism, the All People's Congress, and the People's Anti-War Mobilization.

On November 27, 1982, the November 29 Coalition joined several far-left extremist groups in an anti-Klan demonstration held in Washington, D.C. What began as a demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan, which had announced its intention of meeting on Capitol Hill that day, erupted into the worst rioting in the nation's capital since the 1960's.

The Coalition's announcement for the Washington, D.C. rally read in part: "We join in solidarity with the Black community and all progressive people in the struggle against racism. We will march in D.C. in solidarity with the Palestinian people, and then join the demonstration against racism in the U.S." The flyer was illustrated with a photo of mutilated bodies of victims of the Beirut massacre.

Addressing the demonstrators were Hasan Rahman, Director of the PLO's Washington, D.C. Information Office; Michael Amon-Ra, a Minister with the National Black United Front; Iskander Alex Zalami, of the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA); Naomi Cohen and Phil Wilayto, of the People's Anti-War Mobilization; Valerie Van Isler of the November 29 Coalition and Susan Hajjar of the leftist Lebanese National Movement.

The demonstration was decorated with PLO banners, flags and posters, including one large red banner reading "Fight Racism and Anti-Semitism. Death to Zionism."

The July 30, 1982 issue of Workers World identified Iskander Alex Zalami as "National Coordinator" of the November 29 Coalition. He was identified during various Coalition activities as affiliated with the pro-PLO Palestine Congress of North America.

The August 20, 1982 issue of Workers World named Mudar Al-Abed as "National Organizer" of the November 29 Coalition and said he was a national board member of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) which is part of the PLO.

Also highly visible in the November 29 Coalition's activities has been Nubar Hovsepian who has been identified in appearances at Coalition meetings as being affiliated with the PCNA. Hovsepian is an Armenian publicly identified as a fellow of the Institute of Arab Research which had its headquarters in Beirut.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ARAB STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (OAS)

Founded: 1952

Publication: Arab Student Bulletin

The Organization of Arab Students (OAS) is a major organization for Arab students on college campuses in North America and carries out pro-Arab, pro-PL0 and anti-Israel propaganda activities on university campuses. After 30 years of such activity, the OAS has some 80 chapters and a potentially large following.

The OAS has stated that as a group representing Arab students it "provides them with a voice, as well as a democratic forum to air the main concern of their people." In addition, OAS has said it "is also engaged in the legal defense of Arab students and in upholding their rights against all forms of discrimination and harassment." It has described its activities, aims and its purposes as follows:

"The OAS is active in cultural and community support programs in cities with resident Arab communities. Promoting cultural exchange between the Arab and American peoples is a main focus of the activities of the OAS."

With respect to Israel and Zionism, OAS has declared:

"Through educational campus forums and teach-ins, OAS chapters introduce American students, and the American public, to the social and political realities in the Arab countries. In countering the tremendous Zionist and anti-Arab propaganda (sic) in the United States, the OAS hopes to provide an alternative and broader understanding of the causes of the Arab people. OAS activities are guided by the anti-imperialist perspective that its political line provides."

The group's publication, Arab Student Bulletin, has also served to further the anti-Israel, pro-Arab cause. OAS has solicited articles for the Bulletin on subjects such as "The Arab Palestinian cause and international struggle against Zionism." Arab Student Bulletin articles that dealt with "the anti-imperialist perspective" of OAS have included: "The struggle of minorities in North America," and "Class struggle and the capitalist system in the U.S.A."

The OAS has been active on the American campus scene for many years, sponsoring anti-Israel, pro-Arab, and pro-PL0 demonstrations and teach-ins, many of them sponsored jointly with other Arab propaganda groups and leftist organizations sympathetic to the Arab cause, and featuring pro-Palestinian speakers. OAS conventions, held on different college campuses each year, are also used as forums for propaganda, and have been addressed by Arab diplomatic representatives.

In addition to staging demonstrations, OAS chapters have been active in producing anti-Israel posters, and pro-Arab cultural events,

such as a display on Arab Palestinian culture that was staged by the OAS at Rutgers University in New Jersey in March, 1982. OAS members have written numerous anti-Israel letters-to-the-editor to college newspapers and have placed pro-Arab, pro-PLO ads in these student publications. An OAS unit called "OAS Publications" has published propaganda pamphlets, some prepared by the OAS, and others as reprints of material produced by other sources.

PALESTINE AID SOCIETY (PAS)

President: Anan Ameri Jabara

Headquarters: Detroit, MI

Founded: 1978

Publication: Palestine Aid Society Newsletter

The Palestine Aid Society (PAS) is a Detroit-based non-profit organization founded in 1978 "to support the work of Association Najdeh," described by PAS as "an organization operating in Lebanon to support and help Palestinian and Lebanese refugees."

The stated goals of the Palestine Aid Society are to raise funds directly or through special activities for Najdeh, the PAS counterpart in Lebanon, and to "circulate information about Palestine Aid Society activities in the U.S. and Najdeh's work in Lebanon." According to the first Palestine Aid Society Newsletter, the funds raised for Najdeh are used by that organization for vocational training, schools, health care and relief aid programs.

While the PAS has assumed the role of a humanitarian support group for Najdeh, it has also engaged in hostile, anti-Israel pronouncements and activities. The PAS began its operations as a national organization at the time of its "First Annual Convention" held in Romulus, Michigan in August, 1980. During the convention, the PAS called a press conference at which it charged Israel with gross violations of Palestinian human rights. The press release described "a pattern of repression and harassment of Palestinians...living under untenable conditions" and stated that "this pattern of denial of basic human rights is now intensifying."

More recent PAS activities have included arranging a speaking tour of the United States for Tawfiq Zayyad, the pro-PLO Mayor of Nazareth; organizing anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies; and soliciting funds for the defense of Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian who was fighting extradition from the U.S. to Israel where he was wanted for setting off a terrorist bomb which resulted in the death of two persons and injuries to thirty-six others. Eain was eventually extradited, tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for this crime. The PAS New York chapter has sponsored many of its pro-PLO activities in conjunction with the Middle East Task Force of the N.Y. Peace Council, the New York affiliate of the U.S. Peace Council, itself an affiliate of the World Peace Council, which has been identified by the U.S. State Department as a Soviet front group.

Today, the Palestine Aid Society claims more than 20 chapters nationwide. It is a member of the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA), an umbrella body for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO organizations, and is represented in the PCNA National Executive Committee.

PALESTINE ARAB DELEGATION (PAD)

Chairman: Issa Nakhleh
Headquarters: New York, NY
Founded: 1961

The Palestine Arab Delegation (PAD) was founded in New York in 1961 as the registered foreign lobby of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, an organization formerly headed by Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, which began its U.S. operations in 1947 to oppose the United Nations partition plan.

The stated objectives of the Palestine Arab Delegation are to "disprove Zionist lies and reveal the truth to the American public about the Palestine problem"; to encourage the "United States to stop supporting Zionist illegal aggression and occupation in Palestine"; and to "persuade the U.S.A. to resist the pressure of Zionist leaders who are conspiring to railroad [the] U.S.A. into a Middle East war which may lead to World War III."

Since its emergence, the Palestine Arab Delegation has functioned essentially as a one or two-man operation circulating anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel press releases and pamphlets to top government officials, legislators, newspapers, and various missions to the United Nations. The PAD has also sent letters and pro-Palestinian memoranda to incoming Presidents of the United States.

Many of the materials distributed by the PAD have been crudely anti-Semitic and conspiratorial in tone. A 106-page booklet, for instance, prepared by the Delegation entitled "Jewish Influence on the United States Media" contained a five-page introduction alleging that "Jewish control of the U.S. media was not accidental," but "was a well-calculated and designed plan, a part of a larger plan to control United States policy towards Palestine and thereafter Israel." The remaining 101 pages of the booklet listed "Jewish presence in television networks, selected TV stations, magazines and daily newspapers throughout the United States."

In addition to charges such as "Jewish control of the U.S. Government and media," several other themes have appeared in PAD materials, including the charge that "Israel is a colonial, racist regime of apartheid"; that Israel has brainwashed the world "into believing the 'false claim that 6,000,000 Jews perished in the Second World War'; and that 'so-called 'Israel' is not a state, either in fact or in law, and its admission to membership in the United Nations in 1949 was illegal and has no effect."

PAD chairman Issa Nakhleh is an attorney and long-time anti-Semite known for his ties to anti-Jewish and racist groups as well as for his pro-Palestinian activities. During the 1960's and early 1970's, Nakhleh associated with such well-known anti-Jewish bigots as the late Gerald L. K. Smith, the late Conde McGinley and the racist West Coast-based operation, Western Front.

In November, 1981, Nakhleh participated in the Third Annual Convention of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). This "Institute" is a pseudo-academic group organized by Willis A. Carto, whose Washington, D.C.-based right-wing Liberty Lobby is probably the largest and best financed anti-Semitic organization in the U.S. The IHR has become a prime moving force in the propaganda movement to deny the reality of the Holocaust and the extermination of 6,000,000 Jews by Hitler's Nazi regime. Nakhleh's anti-Israel and anti-Semitic address to the 1981 IHR convention was entitled "Palestinians and Zionist Genocide."

In addition to participating in IHR's 1981 convention, Nakhleh has given numerous interviews to The Spotlight, Liberty Lobby's weekly publication.

Nakhleh also has served as chief delegate and U.N. observer of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine.

PALESTINE ARAB FUND (PAF)

Headquarters: La Puente, CA
Founded: 1968

The Palestine Arab Fund (PAF) was founded 15 years ago for the stated purpose of raising funds for "orphans and widows of Middle East fighting." Headquartered in La Puente, California near Los Angeles, PAF maintains local chapters in 13 other cities on the West Coast.

While PAF publicly claims to be a humanitarian organization that raises money for refugee relief work, substantial evidence indicates that in reality it is a fund-raising apparatus for al-Fatah, the major arm of the PLO, headed by Yasir Arafat. A January 4, 1977 letter from al-Fatah headquarters in Beirut, addressed to "our brothers in the United States," announced that "the Palestine Arab Fund is the authorized entity for all our financial activities in Western United States." [sic]

Financial reports presented at annual PAF conventions have indicated the total amount raised by the Fund since the preceding convention, and how much of that amount is being "sent home." Precisely what is meant by the term "sent home" is difficult to determine because the PAF is not a tax-exempt organization and therefore is not required by law to inform U.S. government officials how its funds are used. Receipts for money transmitted from PAF offices to Beirut have borne, however, the notation "contributions to the Palestinian Revolution"; and receipts sent from al-Fatah headquarters to the PAF have been marked from "the PLO-Fatah general headquarters of Storm Troops."

In addition to fundraising activities, the PAF disseminates PLO news distributed by WAFA, the official news service of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Fund also organizes anti-Israel demonstrations, holds chapter meetings featuring Palestinian and PLO speakers, and circulates monthly pledge forms to several thousand local Arab-American households.

PAF currently maintains a mailing list of ten thousand, and is represented in the National Executive Committee of the Palestine Congress of North America, an umbrella group for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO organizations.

PALESTINE CONGRESS OF NORTH AMERICA (PCNA)

Executive Director: Jawad George
Chairman: Samih Farsoun
Founded: 1979
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Publication: PCNA Newsletter

The Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA) was founded in 1979 to serve as an umbrella group for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO organizations. The largest of these constituent organizations is the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, whose 25,000 members trace their roots to the West Bank city of Ramallah. The PCNA claims a total membership of 40,000.

The PCNA constitution proclaims the Palestinian people's right to "national independence and sovereignty in Palestine in accordance with the policies of the Palestine Liberation Organization." Toward this end the PCNA has sponsored pro-PLO demonstrations and rallies; has called for a halt to U.S. military aid to Israel; sponsored anti-Israel speaking engagements; coordinated a U.S. tour for West Bank mayors who had been removed from office by Israel for their pro-PLO activities; has protested against alleged Israeli repression on the West Bank; and has frequently met with government officials and members of Congress concerning Mideast issues. In addition, PCNA participated in the 1980-81 propaganda campaign to defend Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab who was then awaiting extradition to Israel where he was charged with planting a bomb which killed two persons and wounded 36 others. Abu Eain was eventually extradited to Israel where he was tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

To facilitate these activities PCNA maintains a network of Local Coordinating Committees (LCC's) in major American cities. The function of the LCC's is to organize pro-PLO propaganda activities at the grass-roots level.

PCNA's close relationship with the PLO has been reflected by the appearance and keynote address of Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, at the PCNA second annual convention held in September, 1980. Kaddoumi "brought greetings and congratulations to the Convention from Chairman Arafat," and "reaffirmed the Palestinian willingness to fight the Zionists on every front." Furthermore, the PCNA has promoted the slogan, "No peace without the Palestinians, no Palestinians without the PLO."

In its four year existence, the PCNA has achieved increasing influence within the Arab-American and American left communities. The PCNA has maintained a close relationship with the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon, whose New York post office box number was registered to the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), one of the most active pro-PLO American far-left groups.

The PCNA joined with many leftist organizations in endorsing the May 3, 1981 "March on the Pentagon," staged to protest U.S. defense

policies. The PCNA was also a sponsor of a "Teach-In on the Danger of War in the Middle East," held in New York in June, 1981. This anti-Israel "teach-in" was organized to counter the annual "Salute to Israel" parade and to promote the PLO cause. Among the co-sponsors of this meeting were the PSC and the U.S. Peace Council, an affiliate of the World Peace Council, identified by the U.S. State Department as a Soviet front.

The PCNA has also engaged in cooperative efforts with elements of the Black community. For example, the PCNA has sent delegations from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and from Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH to Beirut, where they met with PLO officials. In addition, the PCNA's Political Committee has drawn up a "Covenant of Solidarity Between Arab-American Businesses and the Third World Community."

During Israel's 1982 military action against the PLO in Lebanon, the PCNA joined other pro-PLO organizations in condemning Israel through demonstrations, rallies and press conferences. PCNA established "media committees" through its local affiliates to monitor news reports and provide pro-PLO information to the media. It launched "Operation Postcard," distributing thousands of cards to Congressmen, expressing "outrage" at Israel's action in Lebanon. PCNA's "Voice of Palestine" telephone information service disseminated PLO news about the war which had been distributed by WAFA, the official news service of the PLO. In addition, PCNA has recently filed a lawsuit against the U.S. government for continuing to supply Israel with weapons that it charged were used in violation of the Arms Export Control Act.

The PCNA publishes a monthly, titled PCNA Newsletter. According to PCNA, the newsletter has a circulation of 17,500. The October, 1982 edition contained a special supplement entitled "PCNA Media Guide." This "Media Guide" provided practical advice to PCNA members on effective media relations and included sample forms for press releases and letters-to-the-editor. One sample letter used in the supplement called for U.S. recognition of the PLO, and was published in the New York Times. A PCNA editorial introducing the "Media Guide" described the supplement as a means of "de-Zioning the media."

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN (PHRC)

National Director: Rev. Donald Wagner

Headquarters: Chicago, IL

Founded: 1977

Publication: Palestine Human Rights Bulletin

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), headquartered in Chicago, IL, is an anti-Israel propaganda group created by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), a leading pro-PLO propaganda organization.

Launched in 1977, the PHRC's formation was announced at a press conference in Washington, D.C., its national headquarters through 1981. By the late 1970's, under the leadership of pro-PLO activists James Zogby and Abdeen Jabara, the PHRC had become a leading factor in the pro-PLO penetration of college campuses, the churches and the Black and radical left communities. The PHRC has publicly declared its recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and has urged U.S. recognition of the terrorist organization.

The stated aim of the PHRC is to "secure the enforcement of existing internationally recognized norms of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the Palestinian people" by promoting the "investigation" and "publication" of alleged Israeli human rights violations against Palestinian Arabs. In support of this goal, the major thrust of PHRC's propaganda activities has been to promote allegations of Israeli mistreatment of Palestinian Arabs. Describing itself as a human rights organization, the PHRC seeks to exploit the American concern for human rights in order to undermine U.S. support for Israel. Through its conferences, public statements, mass mailings and literature, the PHRC has repeatedly argued that Israeli injustice toward Palestinian Arabs has rendered it ineligible to receive U.S. foreign and military aid.

Since its inception, the PHRC has established several groups to "assist" PLO members and their supporters who have been arrested in Israel. Through these ad hoc groups, the PHRC seeks to create "martyrs," muster American support for the PLO, and create anti-Israel sentiment in the U.S. One such group, created by PHRC in 1981, was the "Emergency Committee to Defend Ziad Abu Eain." Ziad Abu Eain was then awaiting extradition from the U.S. to Israel, where he was wanted for planting a bomb that killed two persons and wounded 36 others. Eventually, he was extradited, tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Other PHRC activities during 1981 included the mobilization of the "Emergency Committee to Defend Palestinian Mayors," and the "Emergency Committee to Defend Sami Esmail," an Arab-American student accused of membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical faction of the PLO. In addition, the PHRC sponsored speaking tours in the U.S. for various PLO supporters and critics of Israel such as Mohammed Milhem, former Mayor of the West Bank city of Halhul, Fahd Kawasmeh, former Mayor of Hebron, Israel Shahak, an Israeli supporter of the PLO, and Hanna Nasir, President of Bir Zeit University in the West Bank.

As a means of constructing a coalition to unite American church, peace and Black groups in support of the PLO, the PHRC initiated two anti-Israel conferences, held in LaGrange, IL, in May, 1979 and 1981. The conferences, known as LaGrange I (1979) and LaGrange II (1981), were co-sponsored by two "peace" groups, Pax Christi and Sojourners. The purpose of the conferences was to coordinate strategies to generate pro-PLO sentiment in the American Christian community, and to counteract "the effect of pro-Israel evangelical groups." The LaGrange Declaration, issued at the conclusion of LaGrange II, blames Israel for the Middle East conflict, questions Israel's right to exist, and calls for the termination of all U.S. aid to the Israeli government. Among the speakers at the LaGrange II conference were Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Fr. Bryan Hehir, Director of Information of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Office, Sr. Miriam Ward of the Sisters of Mercy, and Northwestern University Professor Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, a member of the PLO's Palestine National Council. A year later, the PHRC and other LaGrange sponsors held a third anti-Israel conference called the "Jerusalem Conference" in Washington, D.C. At the meeting's conclusion, the participants issued a "Call to American Christians," reiterating the rhetoric of the LaGrange Declaration.

Toward the end of 1981, both Zogby and Jabara apparently turned their attention to other areas of pro-Arab propaganda activity, and the PHRC lost its momentum. In September, 1981, after suffering a collapse in its national grass roots network, the PHRC moved its national headquarters from Washington to Chicago. The organization is currently headed by Rev. Donald Wagner, while James Zogby continues to serve as Chairman and Abdeen Jabara as Legal Advisor. During 1982, the PHRC began to revitalize a number of its regional chapters and has continued to develop strategies to promote American support for Palestinian Arabs and the PLO.

In February, 1982, Rev. Wagner led a delegation of American church leaders on a 15-day tour of Lebanon, to demonstrate rejection of the notion that "the Bible gives the modern state of Israel a divine right to lands inhabited by Palestinian people." Shortly after the delegation's return to the U.S., several Midwest newspapers published anti-Israel ads signed by delegation members.

Also in February, 1982, the PHRC published a "Report on Israeli Human Rights Practices in the Occupied Territories During 1981." The report is essentially a digest of newspaper articles charging Israel with inhuman treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank. The majority of articles cited in PHRC's report are from Al-Fajr, a West Bank Palestinian weekly.

Most recently, PHRC co-sponsored two conferences on the "Lebanon War -- A Challenge to American Religious and Peace Communities" in Los Angeles and Seattle. The conferences, which were highly critical of Israel, featured Dr. Hassan Haddad of the AAUC, Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Dr. Christopher Giannou.

The PHRC publishes a monthly newsletter titled Palestine Human Rights Bulletin.

PALESTINE INFORMATION OFFICE (PIO)

Director: Hasan Abdel Rahman
Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
Founded: 1978

The Palestine Information Office (PIO), headquartered in Washington, D.C., is the registered foreign agent of the PLO in the U.S. The PIO was permitted to open its Washington office in April, 1978.

The declared purpose of the Palestine Information Office is to disseminate "information about the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization." Toward this end, PIO published Palestine Perspectives, a now-defunct monthly magazine which had served as a propaganda organ for the PLO; has circulated PLO propaganda materials to U.S. government officials; has sponsored a weekly radio program, "The Arabic Palestinian Hour" aired on a local Washington station; has promoted pro-PLO demonstrations and marches; and has called for "Americans to start complaining" about U.S. military aid to Israel. In addition, the PIO sponsored a banquet in honor of former West Bank mayors Mohammed Milhem and Fahd Kawasmeh, both of whom are known for their support of the PLO.

PIO Director Hasan Rahman has frequently spoken before college audiences and church groups, emphasizing the PLO viewpoint. During the summer of 1982, Rahman gave numerous interviews to the media, including three appearances on NBC's "Today Show," and interviews with Cable News Network, Christian Broadcasting Network and National Public Radio.

In June, 1982, an anti-Israel advertisement headlined, "Stop Israel's War of Genocide," appeared in The New York Times and the Washington Post. The ad was ostensibly sponsored by a group called "Americans for Peace," but had the same Washington, D.C. post office box address as the Palestine Information Office. The ADL and others have asked the Justice Department to determine whether the PIO has violated the Foreign Agents Registration Act by disseminating "political propaganda" without proper attribution.

Both the Washington, D.C. Palestine Information Office and its New York counterpart, the PLO Observer Mission to the U.N., headed by Zehdi Labib Terzi and Hatem Hussaini, are funded directly by the PLO. In the past, the Palestine Information Office has received a total of \$200,000 annually from its foreign sponsor, the PLO. However, during the second half of 1982 alone, the PIO received \$180,000 from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE (PSC)

Headquarters: New York, NY

Founded: 1976

Publication: Palestine!

The Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) founded in 1976, is one of the most active pro-PLO organizations in New York. The PSC frequently cooperates with far-left organizations to carry out its stated aims of educating "Americans about the Palestinian situation" and fostering "the growth of Solidarity groups in other cities and areas around the country." According to a PSC brochure, more than a dozen "Solidarity" groups are now in operation.

The Committee's "educational" programs have included a PSC Resource Center that produces and distributes anti-Israel and pro-PLO slide presentations, brochures, and "informational" flyers. The Resource Center also supplies "films, books, and pamphlets produced abroad by the PLO." Another PSC "educational facility" is its Research Library, which according to the organization's brochure contains over 2,000 books, periodicals, and documents. In addition, the PSC publishes a pro-PLO monthly bulletin, Palestine!, which it describes as "the keystone to its educational work." Palestine! is replete with anti-Israel articles such as a series entitled "Exposing Zionist Myths."

Among PSC's main propaganda activities have been its annual counter-demonstration to the "Salute to Israel" parade in New York City and numerous other demonstrations, such as the protest against the "Jabotinsky Centennial Dinner" which honored Menachem Begin in New York City in 1980. In addition, through its "Political Prisoner Project," the PSC has carried out several campaigns on behalf of Palestinian Arabs who have been suspected by Israel of committing PLO terrorist acts. The "Political Prisoner Project" was initiated by the PSC to publicize the plight of the prisoners "and the role of the U.S. in financing and strengthening this Israeli repressive apparatus." The PSC frequently coordinates these activities with other anti-Israel and radical left groups such as the Workers World Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the U.S. Peace Council, and the Palestine Congress of North America.

The PSC has also arranged a number of forums over the last few years, presenting speakers such as Shafiq al-Hout, the PLO representative in Lebanon; Yasir Abed Rabbo, head of the PLO's Information Department; Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Permanent Observer of the PLO at the U.N.; and Israel Shahak, an Israeli who is a staunch anti-Zionist and propagandist for the Palestinian cause.

Individuals who regularly sign letters of solicitation urging support of the Palestine Solidarity Committee include such leading figures in the pro-PLO propaganda network as Edward Said, Naseer Aruri, Eqbal Ahmad, and Samih Farsoun.

An October, 1982 PSC financial document disclosed that the organization received a sum of \$1,000 from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

SEARCH FOR JUSTICE AND EQUALITY IN PALESTINE (SEARCH)

Executive Director: Edmund R. Hanauer
Headquarters: Waverly, MA
Founded: 1972
Publication: Palestine/Israel Bulletin

Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine (SEARCH) is a Massachusetts-based pro-Palestinian organization founded in 1972 by Edmund R. Hanauer, an anti-Zionist Jew and a long-time opponent of Israel. While SEARCH characterizes itself as "a national human rights organization which sees the rights of Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews as interdependent," it has promoted the PLO viewpoint exclusively for the past ten years.

In January, 1972, shortly after SEARCH had been established, Hanauer distributed a flyer headed "Middle East Peace and '72 Election" at a Massachusetts Democratic Party caucus. The flyer asked, in part: "Should American Middle East Policy and perhaps the peace of the world depend on the disproportionate influence of one ethnic group, namely, American Jews, on Democratic Presidential hopefuls?" Subsequently, in September, 1972, Hanauer solicited membership and financial support for his group in a letter to persons on Rabbi Elmer Berger's mailing list, stating: "Dr. Elmer Berger has kindly allowed me to inform you of a new effort on behalf of justice for the Palestinians." Hanauer continued by outlining the aim of his group and stating that of "prime concern will be reaching college students, particularly young Jews."

In December, 1975, SEARCH circulated a petition signed by 250 clergymen urging "The right of displaced Palestinians to return to their homeland." More recently, in January, 1981, SEARCH presented another, more extreme, petition calling for talks between the U.S. and the PLO, Israel and the PLO, as well as a cut in U.S. foreign aid to Israel. That 1981 petition, which was presented to President Carter, President-elect Reagan, Congressional leaders, and State Department and U.N. officials, was signed by 400 clergymen, among them several anti-Israel spokesmen.

Another recent SEARCH activity was a Summer, 1981 "Memorandum on the PLO" circulated to SEARCH constituents which outlined points to be made in support of the PLO and against Israel when speaking to any American audience, especially the media. The memorandum alleged that the PLO is more flexible than any major Israeli party on the issue of an Israeli-PLO settlement; that if any party is being intransigent, it is Israel; that the PLO is not simply a "guerrilla organization resorting to armed struggle," but is, "in a sense, a government-in-exile"; that Israel has committed terrorist acts far more devastating than those committed by the PLO; and finally, that the root cause of the cycle of terror is Israeli oppression of the Palestinians.

More recently, in July, 1982, SEARCH conducted a telegram campaign addressed to President Reagan and other top-level government officials

urging the Reagan Administration and Congress to cut off all aid to Israel until Israel withdrew from Lebanon, "from all other occupied lands, and recognizes Palestinian human and national rights."

Today SEARCH maintains a Washington, D.C. office called the Middle East Resource Center and claims to have a nationally-based constituency of 650.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY FUND

President: James Abourezk
Founded: 1982

Founded in late 1982, the Twenty-First Century Fund is a non-profit foundation headed by James Abourezk, a former U.S. Senator from South Dakota and Chairman of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, a leading pro-PLO propaganda organization.

The stated objective of the Twenty-First Century Fund is to "create better relations between the people of the United States and the people of the Arab World." The Fund's first and only known activity to date was a November 12-14, 1982 Conference entitled "International Law and the Question of Palestine." The Conference, held in Washington, D.C., featured 22 speakers with varying degrees of expertise on Middle Eastern affairs. Of the 22 panelists, 19 were known for their anti-Israel pronouncements while three of the speakers were known for their pro-Israel views. Several Conference participants received \$1,000 honorariums paid by checks from the Kuwait Bar Association.

While the Twenty-First Century Fund is too new to have established a clear track record, the pro-Palestinian thrust of its November Conference indicates that its stated aim of bettering U.S.-Arab relations seems to have only one dimension -- that of diminishing U.S. support for Israel.

UNITED HOLY LAND FUND (UHLF)

President: Mahmoud A. Naji
Headquarters: Chicago, IL
Founded: 1968

The United Holy Land Fund (UHLF) was founded in 1968 as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization for the declared purpose of "assisting those Palestinians who have been affected by the present emotional, social, economic, and political strife in the region" by providing financial support for "various civic, health, vocational and rehabilitation programs" for Palestinian Arab refugees. Headquartered in Chicago, UHLF has maintained 25 additional branches in the Midwest, Eastern, and Southern states.

While UHLF claims to be a humanitarian organization "contributing to the social, economic and psychological welfare of the Palestinian people," the Fund's own literature has indicated that one of its primary functions is to raise money for direct transmission to constituent groupings of the Palestine Liberation Organization and other PLO-related institutions. According to a report of its financial affairs, presented at its Thirteenth Annual Convention in 1981, UHLF has transferred more than \$10 million to various Palestinian entities "inside" and "outside Palestine" since its inception in 1968.

The largest recipient of UHLF funds has been the Palestine Red Crescent Society, a Red-Cross type organization that is part of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's highest decision-making body. The Palestinian Red Crescent Society is headed by Fathi Arafat, Yasir Arafat's brother. Another major recipient of UHLF grants has been Samed, the PLO's economic branch, which describes itself as "the nucleus of a public sector for the Palestinian state-to-be." In addition, the United Holy Land Fund has channeled money to Bir Zeit University, a center of pro-PLO activity in the West Bank.

Additional UHLF activities in the U.S. have included sponsoring speaking engagements for the former West Bank mayors Bassam Shaka and Mohammed Milhem -- both of whom openly support the PLO -- and placing anti-Israel advertisements in American newspapers.

UNITED PALESTINIAN APPEAL, INC. (UPA)

Chairman of the Board: Mohammad Tarbush

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Founded: 1980

Publication: Project Update

The United Palestinian Appeal (UPA) was founded in 1980 as a non-profit tax-exempt organization. Located in downtown Washington, D.C., UPA shares office space with the Washington office of the anti-Israel Palestinian weekly, Al-Fajr.

The stated purpose of UPA is to solicit contributions from American corporations that conduct business in the Arab world and channel those funds toward "humanitarian" projects for the Palestinians. According to the pro-Arab tabloid, Action, UPA has endeavored to pattern itself after the United Jewish Appeal.

With the aid of sizeable contributions from the Arab oil-producing countries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar, UPA held its first fund-raising banquet for oil company executives on January 30, 1982.

Paul Ajlouny, UPA's founder and original director, is publisher of Al-Fajr and an adviser to the PLO representative at the United Nations.

INDIVIDUALS

JAMES ABOUREZK

The first Arab-American elected to the United States Senate, James Abourezk, 51, has emerged in recent years as the Arab-American spokesman most widely quoted by the news media. His preeminence in this regard has coincided with the rapid growth in membership and influence of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) which Abourezk co-founded in May, 1980, with James Zogby, another leading pro-PL0 activist and former head of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC).

Abourezk received his law degree from the University of South Dakota in 1966, practiced law in Rapid City, South Dakota, was elected in 1970 as a Democratic member of the House of Representatives, and a U.S. Senator in 1973. He served one term in the Senate but did not seek reelection. He entered the private practice of law in Washington in 1979.

While still a member of the Senate, Abourezk was a powerful spokesman for the Palestinian Arab cause and an outspoken critic of Israel and the "Zionist Lobby." In 1977, he chaired hearings on Israel's "colonization" of the West Bank, held before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Four of the five academic figures called as witnesses by the subcommittee were long-time critics of Israel, while the pro-Israel positions of the fifth witness, Professor Yehuda Blum of the Hebrew University (later appointed as Israel's UN Ambassador) were characterized by Abourezk in an official report as "artful sophistries." In the same report to the Judiciary Committee, Abourezk compared Israel's West Bank policies to those of the British in India and those of "other classical colonial empires."

In 1978, Abourezk wrote an article in the February issue of Penthouse magazine entitled "The Relentless Israeli Propaganda Machine." This article, reprinted and distributed by the Arab League's Arab Information Center in New York, charged among other things that:

-- The 1947 UN Partition plan for Palestine was the result of "political chicanery used by the Zionist movement";

-- President Truman recognized the new State of Israel since he "could not afford to lose the support of American Jews, because of both votes and money";

-- The formation of the "exclusive Jewish state" of Israel represented "the ultimate betrayal" of the Arabs and the establishment of "a new colony by the world's big powers, controlled. . . by Europeans";

-- "U.S. policy on the Mideast is virtually directed by Tel Aviv";

-- The Zionist lobby "takes its orders from Israel and then lays down the party line to the American Jewish community," it employs "political intimidation" and "intellectual terrorism," and "generates hate mail to target politicians."

Abourezk went so far as to charge the "Lobby" with "bomb threats to prevent speeches critical of Israel from being given." He

also charged that "virtually the entire U.S. press corps [is] acting as Israel's propaganda machine in America."

Since his retirement from the Senate in 1979, Abourezk has devoted himself to his leadership of the ADC and to his own law practice. In 1980, he represented the interests of the Iranian revolutionary government of Ayatollah Khomeini in the United States. He is now a member of the Washington, D.C. firm of Abourezk, Sobol and Trister.

Abourezk has frequently been a featured speaker at functions of the leading pro-PLO organizations in the U.S., including the Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG), and the PHRC. He has been associated with several other pro-PLO, anti-Israel political activities in recent years. These include the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee (formed to oppose the deportation of Ayoub, a Palestinian Arab student who failed to maintain his student status, according to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service) and the Committee to Defend Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab eventually extradited to Israel, tried, and convicted in connection with a fatal bombing incident.

Abourezk has been a sharp critic of American military aid to Israel. In an interview in the August, 1981, issue of the Arab League's Arab Perspectives, Abourezk asserted: "I think it is a disgrace for the United States Government to get away with supplying weapons to Israel." He also called upon Arab governments to oppose such aid more actively since "you would expect the Jews to do what they do, and you would expect the American Government to react the way it does."

In June, 1982, during Israel's action in Lebanon, Abourezk wrote a letter to members of Congress -- reprinted in an ADC newspaper ad -- in which he urged Congress "to take immediate and effective action to stop the genocidal war against Lebanon and its people," and in which he described Israel's action as "the pogrom of the Warsaw Ghetto being recast in 1982." Abourezk has often exploited Holocaust imagery in this context, even charging that "the American media. . . have joined in an Israeli propaganda effort that would have made Joseph Goebbels proud."

Such false and exaggerated rhetoric from Abourezk regarding Israel did not, however, begin with the Lebanon action. In March, 1981, for example, Abourezk was quoted as follows by the Religious News Service: "Because of America's involvement with Israel, so many in this country are turning into fascists."

During 1982, Abourezk became president of the Twenty-First Century Fund, a Washington, D.C.-based non-profit foundation whose proclaimed objective is "to create better relations between the people of the United States and the people of the Arab world."

IBRAHIM ABU-LUGHOD

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, is a member of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the top policy making body of the PLO and is one of the leading pro-PLO voices in the U.S. A former president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, he chaired a forum on Israeli actions in Beirut at the AAUG's 15th annual convention held in Montreal on October 22-24, 1982. He frequently serves as a featured speaker at public gatherings sponsored by pro-PLO groups and has lent his name to many pro-PLO activities and groups as a supporter or sponsor. In 1980, he was listed as an "endorser" of a newspaper advertisement placed by the National Emergency Committee to Defend Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab who was eventually extradited to Israel and found guilty of committing a fatal bombing, for which he was sentenced to life in prison. In 1981, Abu-Lughod was listed as a sponsor of the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee, a group formed by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign to promote support for Ayoub, another Palestinian Arab whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was seeking to deport for failure to maintain his student status.

Abu-Lughod was also among the original sponsors of the Coalition for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, which has called for an independent Palestinian state and for U.S. recognition of the PLO. Abu-Lughod headed a UNESCO group studying the feasibility of establishing a "Palestine Open University," a project funded by the Kuwait-based Arab Fund for Educational and Social Development with the approval of the PLO. AAUG literature has described Abu-Lughod as a "conveyor" of a June, 1981 seminar sponsored by the Institute of Arab Studies. He has also written many articles for anti-Israel Arab publications, including Arab World, published by the Arab League Information Center in New York.

Abu-Lughod served as a featured speaker at the 1981 second LaGrange (Illinois) Conference, sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and several Christian groups that have expressed pro-PLO views. Participants at this conference, which was similar to one held in the same Illinois town in 1979, reflected the view that Israel and Zionism were obstacles to Middle East peace. The announcement of the conference advocated a "reexamination" of such "popular assumptions" as the Jewish historical and religious claim to the Holy Land. At this conference, Abu-Lughod described Israel as colonialist and racist, a theme he echoed at a meeting of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in March, 1982, where -- among other anti-Israel and pro-PLO positions -- he compared Israel's policy toward Palestinian Arabs with the treatment of Blacks by South Africa.

Abu-Lughod was listed as a supporter of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People, which placed a full-page ad in the New York Times of June 20, 1982. The post office box of this committee was found to have been registered to the wife of Edward Said, another member of the Palestine National Council. This ad used extremely exaggerated civilian casualty figures in seeking to generate opposition to Israel's action in Lebanon.

Abu-Lughod was the editor of Palestinian Rights/Affirmation and Denial (Chicago: Medina Press, 1982), a collection of anti-Israel articles by pro-PLO propagandists. As a PNC member, Abu-Lughod is an Ex Officio member of the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA), a pro-PLO umbrella group for over 50 Palestinian organizations in the U.S. and Canada. He received his Ph.D. at Princeton University, and taught at Smith College and McGill University before joining the faculty at Northwestern.

DR. EQBAL AHMAD

A 51-year-old native of Pakistan, Dr. Egbal Ahmad is a long-time pro-PLO and anti-Israel activist on the American scene. He has been associated since 1973 with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a Washington, D.C.-based leftist "think tank," and served as director of its international branch, the Transnational Institute (TNI) with centers in London and Amsterdam. He has also served as editor of Race and Class, published by TNI.

Ahmad's writings and public statements, like those of other IPS members, reflect a "third-world" view that is highly critical of the United States and of Israel, and is sympathetic to so-called "liberation movements," such as the PLO. He has written widely on these subjects, including many articles published on the op-ed page of the New York Times.

Ahmad holds two Ph.D. degrees from Princeton University, one in political science and the other in Islamic studies. He has served on the faculties of Princeton, Cornell and the University of Illinois at Urbana, and has been a Visiting Professor of Political Science at New Jersey's Rutgers University.

Ahmad has participated in many areas of the Arab anti-Israel propaganda campaign in the U.S. A frequent speaker at pro-PLO forums -- including meetings of the Association of Arab American University Graduates and the Organization of Arab Students -- Ahmad was listed as a sponsor of a conference on "Palestinian Human Rights and Peace" held in Washington in May, 1978, under the auspices of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Also in 1978, Ahmad was listed as an endorser of the Michigan-based National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail, which sought to obtain the release of Esmail, an Arab-American imprisoned by Israel after his conviction there for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist and terrorist faction of the PLO.

A frequent critic of American policy in the Middle East, Ahmad has condemned the Camp David accords, as well as American military aid to Israel. In a March 28, 1979, New York Times op-ed page article, for example, he asserted that "Israel's enemies have multiplied in direct proportion to the increases in Israel's offensive military capabilities."

The January 15, 1980, issue of Focus, published by the pro-PLO National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), quoted Ahmad as stating in a speech at an IPS meeting, "The only ally the USSR has in the Middle East is Israel. Why do I say this? Because Israel has been so intransigent it won't let the Arabs sell out the USSR."

Back in 1971, Ahmad had been one of six anti-war activists indicted on charges of conspiring to kidnap then-National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, conspiring to maliciously destroy government property and for possession and transportation of explosives across state lines. In April, 1972, the case ended in a mistrial when a federal jury was unable to reach a verdict.

Ahmad has been listed as a speaker on Middle East topics with the Speakers' Network of the Middle East Research & Information Project (MERIP), a group highly critical of Israeli policies. Among the other anti-Israel activities Ahmad has been affiliated with include the National Emergency Committee to Defend Ziad Abu Eain, an Israeli Arab eventually extradited to Israel and found guilty of a fatal bombing, and the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee, formed by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign to promote support for another Israeli Arab finally deported from the U.S. by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1981. He was also a sponsor of the Coalition for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, which seeks U.S. recognition for the PLO.

Ahmad was listed as a speaker at the June, 1981, "Teach-In on the Danger of War in the Middle East" held in New York. This strongly anti-Israel and anti-Zionist meeting, held as a counterdemonstration to the annual "Salute to Israel" parade, was sponsored by, among others, the Palestine Congress of North America, the pro-PLO Palestine Solidarity Committee and the U.S. Peace Council, an affiliate of the World Peace Council, which has been identified by the State Department as a Soviet front. In November, 1981, and in July, 1982, Ahmad was listed as a speaker at pro-PLO, anti-Israel demonstrations in New York sponsored by the November 29 Coalition, a far-left group comprised of members of the Workers World Party (a communist splinter group) and the PFLP faction of the PLO.

In March, 1982, Ahmad was a participant in a panel on "The Fundamental Rights of the Palestinian People" as part of the Fifth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine held under the auspices of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Ahmad was a signer of the June 20, 1982, full-page ad in the New York Times sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and the Lebanese People, quoting exaggerated casualty figures and seeking public support for "efforts to oppose Israel's onslaught" in Lebanon. The post office box of this committee was registered to the wife of Edward Said, a member of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's policy making body. Ahmad's name also appeared in an ad sponsored by the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon, whose post office box was found to be registered to the pro-PLO Palestine Solidarity Committee.

In an op-ed article in the August 11, 1982, Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Ahmad criticized the corruption and oppression practiced by many Moslem governments. Yet he saved his strongest criticism for Israel: "The besieged inhabitants of Beirut and the beleaguered Arabs under Israeli occupation alone redeemed the self-respect of Middle Eastern peoples with their courage and persistence against a powerful, pitiless enemy."

PAUL AJLOUNY

Paul Ajlouny is the owner and publisher of the Arabic-language daily Al-Fajr (The Dawn) which is based in East Jerusalem. This publication also has an English-language edition, published in Washington, D.C. Ajlouny, who has been an American citizen for 35 years, is an engineer with a B.S. degree from the University of Kentucky.

In September, 1978, Ajlouny was indicted on charges of trying to smuggle stolen communications equipment out of the United States. The federal prosecutor who handled the case indicated that he believed the contraband was intended for the PLO. Ajlouny was convicted on one of more than 100 counts against him and was sentenced to two years in prison; he served several months in a federal penitentiary before being released.

Ajlouny is the founder of the United Palestinian Appeal, Inc., which was formed in 1980, "to help alleviate human suffering in the Middle East." The UPA hopes to "gather contributions primarily from American corporations doing business in the Middle East and channel those funds towards social projects in the Arab countries where they are most needed." The UPA has placed ads in a number of Arab-American publications and held a fund-raising event in April, 1982, attended by oil company executives and Arab ambassadors.

Ajlouny has served as an advisor on American affairs to the PLO's UN observer and is a member of such pro-PLO organizations as the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) and the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) which he has served as a member of the Board of Directors. He is also a member of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine (AFRP), an organization of Palestinian-Americans who trace their origins to the West Bank city of Ramallah.

Al-Fajr is the newspaper most widely read by Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and has been consistently pro-PLO and critical of Israeli policies on the West Bank. An article in the November 30, 1981, issue of Newsweek called Al-Fajr "leftist."

In a 1982 letter to the New York Times, Ajlouny wrote: "The Palestinians in the occupied territories have made it painfully obvious that they will not accept any alternative to the PLO."

In July, 1982, the English-language edition of Al-Fajr featured an "open letter" addressed to President Reagan and then-Secretary of State-designate George Shultz which charged that "your government is at present backing the state of Israel to the hilt in its desperate battle to stave off the realities of the Middle East."

JOHN DUKE ANTHONY

Professor John Duke Anthony has had a long affiliation with the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Anthony recently became the Director of the Middle East Referral Service, a speakers' bureau on Middle East subjects sponsored by the pro-Arab "American Educational Trust" (AET), a recently formed, pro-Arab organization based in Washington, D.C., which publishes the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. He has also lectured on Middle East topics at seminars sponsored by the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Institute School of Area Studies.

While completing his doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins, Anthony worked as assistant editor of the Middle East Journal, a generally pro-Arab periodical published in Washington by the Middle East Institute (MEI). The Spring, 1978, MEI Newsletter reported that Anthony would present a paper in May of that year at a three-day conference on the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, at the Middle East Center of the University of Southern California. This conference was organized, according to the Newsletter, by Professor Willard A. Beling, a former official of the Saudi-controlled Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), who was appointed as the first holder of USC's King Faisal Chair of Islamic and Arab Studies -- a position established in 1976 by a \$1 million Saudi grant.

Anthony has maintained a close relationship with the Saudis in recent years. An article in the May, 1982, New Republic entitled "The ARAMCO Connection," reported that ARAMCO lobbied in behalf of Anthony's effort to retain a non-tenured position at Johns Hopkins. The same article stated that he has been involved in a "pro-Saudi project funded by Saudi Arabia and major corporations," and that he had "participated as a college lecturer as part of the Saudi-supported Duke University Center for Islamic and Arabian Studies."

The September, 1982, Newsletter of the Center for Middle East Policy reported that Anthony would be traveling to Saudi Arabia in a party headed by the Center's President John P. Richardson (former chief lobbyist of the National Association of Arab Americans) to meet with, among others, "American corporate officials and Saudis connected with both the government and private sector."

Also in 1982, Anthony headed a panel of scholars that reviewed the materials distributed to secondary school teachers and students in conjunction with a Public Broadcasting Service series on Saudi Arabia.

Anthony was recently appointed to edit Middle East Policy & Research Corporation's (MEPARC) reports. MEPARC is a newly-formed subsidiary of the National Association of Arab Americans, a pro-PLO lobbying organization.

DR. NASEER H. ARURI

Dr. Naseer H. Aruri, Professor of Political Science at Southeastern Massachusetts University in North Dartmouth, Massachusetts, is one of the leading pro-PLO intellectuals and propagandists in the U.S. He has been associated with two major organizations that have promoted the pro-Arab, pro-PLO, anti-Israel cause in this country: the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), and the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA).

Aruri, an Arab-American who was born in Jerusalem, was one of the founders and a former president of AAUG, an intellectually oriented pro-PLO organization. He has continued to be active with the group, often addressing AAUG chapters around the country. He has chaired AAUG's Publications Committee, and, as a former president of the organization, he serves on the group's Advisory Board.

Aruri was one of the founders of PCNA, an umbrella organization for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO groups established in 1979. He has served as a "spokesperson" for the group, and has been chairman of its political committee. It was reported that Aruri had become dissatisfied with AAUG's intellectual promotion of the PLO cause in 1979, and he went on to found the PCNA as a voice for Palestinian-Americans. Aruri has denied this allegation, saying that he did not sever his ties with AAUG upon the formation of PCNA, adding that he indeed continued to serve on AAUG's Advisory Board.

Aruri, as noted, is a pro-PLO intellectual, and has written several books on the Middle East. In addition, his byline has appeared in AAUG and PCNA publications, and in such Arab publications as Action, published by Mohammed T. Mehdi, a veteran pro-PLO propagandist; the Arab League's Arab Perspectives; Palestine Perspectives, the now-defunct publication of the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., and the Middle East, an English-language pro-Arab magazine published in London. The New York Times and the Washington Post, among other newspapers, have published letters-to-the-editor by Aruri.

As a pro-PLO activist, Aruri has traveled extensively around the country, addressing both Arab and non-Arab groups, and presenting the pro-PLO line in his speeches. The PLO, according to Aruri, is not a terrorist organization, but a political organization representing the Palestinian Arab people. He has indicated that although the PCNA did not act as a spokesman for the PLO, its positions and those of the PLO were "uniformly compatible."

RABBI ELMER BERGER

Rabbi Elmer Berger has maintained an anti-Zionist, anti-Israel and pro-Arab viewpoint with respect to the Middle East conflict for nearly 40 years. Rabbi Berger has written and lectured extensively in support of his views and has been described as "the leading Jewish anti-Zionist spokesman in the United States" by Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), a major pro-Arab group in the U.S.

The 74-year-old Berger was ordained a rabbi in 1932 after his graduation from Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati. In 1943 he joined other reform rabbis in creating the American Council for Judaism (ACJ), a Jewish group which emphasized the universal values of Judaism as a religion and stood resolutely against Zionism. He served as ACJ's spokesman for 25 years before resigning in 1968 over policy differences with the group's leadership.

Under Berger and his leadership, the ACJ opposed partition of Palestine in 1947 and 1948 and after the creation of the Jewish state consistently took an anti-Israel and pro-Arab position in the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Arab states. During the Six-Day War in the Middle East in 1967, ACJ spokesmen, including Berger, contended that the Israeli state would have to be "de-Zionized" as an essential first step towards possible peace with the Arabs.

After leaving the ACJ in 1969, Berger organized and assumed leadership of a new anti-Zionist group called American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism (AJAZ) whose "educational program" includes rejection of "Zionism/Israel's 'Jewish people' nationality attachment to all Jews to the State of Israel." Berger's group has disseminated its views through a periodical called "AJAZ Report" and publishes reprints of speeches by Berger entitled "Israel's Threat to Judaism" and "Middle East Peace: Why So Difficult?"

Berger is also the author of several anti-Zionist books. His most recent book, Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew, was published during 1978 in Beirut, Lebanon, by the Institute for Palestine Studies, a pro-PLO "think tank" and the English-language counterpart of the PLO Research Center with which the Institute has coordinated its work since 1965. In his book, Berger proclaims: "I have felt thoroughly comfortable with the tradition of anti-Zionism all my life" and also states that "The essential racism of the Zionist state is becoming increasingly visible." (Zionism equals racism is a theme that has been propagated by Arabs and their Soviet allies in the UN and other international forums.)

Berger has continued in recent years to write, to lecture, to travel, and to make public appearances against "Zionist Israel" and in behalf of pro-Arab causes and groups in the U.S. and abroad.

In November, 1980, Berger participated in a pro-Arab conference in Vienna, Austria. Other participants at the conference included pro-Arab propagandist Alfred M. Lillenthal, pro-PLO activist Hisham Sharabi, and Falilou Kane, identified as Chairman of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

In January, 1981, Berger was listed among signers of a petition which urged recognition of the PLO and direct "U.S.-PLO talks [which] will allow Washington to better understand Palestinian aspirations"; the petition drive was organized by a pro-Arab group called Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine.

In June, 1981, Berger was identified as a sponsor of a Washington, D.C. "Holy Land State Conference" in an advertisement placed by the "Holy Land State Committee" in The Spotlight, Liberty Lobby's extreme right-wing and anti-Semitic publication. Among other participants were such anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, pro-Arab propagandists and activists as Alfred M. Lillienthal, Frank Maria, Haviv Schieber (chairman of the "Holy Land State Committee"), Ghazi Khankan, and Clovis Maksoud of the League of Arab States.

In February, 1982, Granma, the official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, reported that Berger was a participant at the "2nd Symposium on Racism," sponsored by the "International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," which was held in Athens, Greece. Berger was reported to have spoken on the theme of "Zionism as Israel Racism in Law and Practice."

In May, 1982, Berger spoke at the University of Washington on the subject, "What's Next in the Middle East." His address was sponsored by the General Union of Palestinian Students, which is officially linked to the PLO's Palestine National Council and operates some 70 chapters in the U.S. with approximately 2,500 student members.

In June, 1982, Berger was listed among the signators of a June 20th anti-Israel advertisement sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People that was published in the New York Times. The ad, headlined "Death and Devastation in Lebanon," claimed that 40,000 people had been killed and wounded during the events in Lebanon in the summer of 1982 and that 700,000 had been made homeless. These casualty figures were exaggerated distortions that originated with the PLO and its Palestine Red Crescent Society in Lebanon.

DR. SAMIH FARSOON

Samih Farsoun, a Professor of Sociology at the American University in Washington, D.C., is a Palestinian-born American who has been a leading activist in several pro-PLO organizations. He has participated in pro-PLO events and rallies and has written numerous articles in support of the Palestinian cause over the past several years.

In 1979, Farsoun served as President of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG). The AAUG is one of the most influential pro-PLO organizations in the U.S.

Indicative of the close ties between the AAUG and the PLO was a three-day seminar held June 19-21, 1979 in Beirut under the joint auspices of Palestinian Affairs, a monthly magazine published in Arabic by the PLO Research Center, and leading members of the AAUG to analyze American politics -- especially American attitudes and political forces affecting U.S. policy in the Middle East.

According to The Christian Science Monitor of June 26, 1979, one participant termed the seminar "the first attempt anywhere in the Arab world systematically to examine American politics."

The AAUG members, the Monitor reported, took part in the meetings, along with staff members of the PLO Research Center and of Palestinian Affairs. Farsoun, the 1979 AAUG President, participated, as did Dr. Fouad Noughrabi, the AAUG's 1978 President. Both presented papers at the seminar; Farsoun's was entitled, "The Crisis in the U.S. Economy and American Foreign Policy Towards the Mideast."

Yasir Arafat, the PLO chieftain, and Farouk Kaddoumi, Director of the PLO Political Department, also attended the seminar's final session.

During 1982, Farsoun was elected chairman of the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA), established in 1979 to serve as an umbrella group for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO organizations.

Farsoun also was among the signers of a June 20, 1982, anti-Israel advertisement sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People that was published in the New York Times. The ad, headlined "Death and Devastation in Lebanon," carried highly exaggerated casualty figures resulting from the fighting in Lebanon. It condemned Israel's action in Lebanon and appealed for affirmation of the "rights of the Palestinians."

In July, 1982, Farsoun spoke at a "teach-in" at the Ashbury United Methodist Church in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Washington Emergency Committee on Lebanon, a pro-PLO ad hoc committee that sprang up after Israel began its action in Lebanon. During his talk, Farsoun accused the media in the U.S. of improperly portraying the PLO and of describing all Palestinians as terrorists. He claimed that the so-called Palestine resistance movement began in 1956, eight years after the partition of Palestine and the formation of the State of Israel.

He contended that a "new Palestinian" had emerged to challenge the Israelis between 1967 and 1968 and that this "new" PLO had spread beyond Arab nations such as Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan to Egypt and westward, to the United States. Other speakers included Dr. Christopher Giannou, a Canadian surgeon who had served with the PLO's Palestine Red Crescent Society in Beirut, and Joe Stork, a pro-PLO activist associated with the Middle East Research & Information Project (MERIP), a leftist collective with offices in Washington, D.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, and New York City.

Farsoun has been a contributing editor of MERIP Reports, and has been listed in the Speakers Bureau section of the Organization of Arab Students' 1975 Information Handbook as a recommended and reliable speaker for the Arab cause.

In his articles, Farsoun has been consistently pro-PLO, anti-Israel, and highly critical of the U.S. In an article that appeared on the op-ed page of the New York Times on August 3, 1982, Farsoun wrote that "the PLO has been steadily gaining diplomatic recognition throughout the world to the extent that more countries recognize, and have relations with, the PLO than with Israel." He also wrote that "Through the invasion of Lebanon, Mr. Begin hoped to overcome in one fell swoop all the dilemmas of Israel -- ideological, political and economic. But history shows that such jingoistic militaristic solutions do not work -- Mr. Begin cannot bomb a whole people into submission."

In another article, published October 19, 1982, in the Charlotte Observer, Farsoun claimed that a "reign of terror, legitimized by the new Lebanese government, has been unleashed on Palestinians and other civilians left unprotected by the [U.S.-negotiated] departure of the PLO from Beirut." He accused the multinational peacekeeping force of permitting human rights violations against the Palestinians and contended that the U.S., as part of that force, should act on its guarantee of protection for Palestinians left behind in Beirut after the departure of the PLO.

JAWAD F. GEORGE

Jawad F. George, a 32-year-old attorney practicing in Alexandria, Virginia, has been a leading activist in pro-PLO organizations for many years.

In the mid-1970s, he served as the first American-born president of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, a Detroit-based pro-PLO organization founded in 1959 and composed of Arab-Americans who trace their origins to the West Bank city of Ramallah.

In 1979, George was involved in the formation of the Palestine Congress of North America, an umbrella organization for more than 50 North American-based pro-PLO groups, and has served as executive director of the Congress since 1981.

Jawad George has also been engaged in other pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel activities. For example, in the spring of 1980, he distributed a letter which he had "paid for in his personal capacity," inviting people to a reception at the Capitol Hill Club in Washington, D.C. to honor then-Rep. Paul Findley (R., Ill.). George said that Findley, "a courageous advocate for justice for the Palestinian people," was facing a "significant backlash" in his campaign for reelection to Congress.

In 1982, after the events in Lebanon, Jawad George and other leaders of the Palestine Congress of North America participated in a march to the White House where they demanded a cut off of U.S. military aid to Israel.

DR. CHRISTOPHER GIANNOU

Dr. Christopher Giannou, a Canadian surgeon, volunteered in 1980 for work in Lebanon with the PLO's Palestine Red Crescent Society, headed by Yasir Arafat's brother, Dr. Fathi Arafat. In Lebanon, he soon became chief surgeon at the PLO's hospital in Nabatiyah. During the course of the Israeli military operation in Lebanon in the summer of 1982, Dr. Giannou was interned for several days at a school, temporarily converted to a prison facility. According to the Israelis, Giannou was detained because of his close connection to the PLO and his apparent sympathy for the terrorist organization. Following his release, Dr. Giannou began making public accusations against the Israelis. His charges, including negligence and maltreatment of prisoners, were unconditionally denied by Israeli officials.

These accusations, although not authenticated, have since been repeated by Dr. Giannou during speaking engagements throughout the United States. This speaking tour of 13 American cities was organized and promoted by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), an organization founded in 1980 for the stated purpose of combatting anti-Arab discrimination, but which often engages in anti-Israel propaganda activities. The charges made by Dr. Giannou were published in a full-page advertisement which appeared during the summer of 1982 in several leading newspapers including the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times. The ad was sponsored by the Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People, an ad hoc organization which emerged during the Israeli war against the PLO and began publishing Arab propaganda advertisements in American newspapers.

GRACE HALSELL

Grace Halsell is a journalist, author and former war correspondent, covering the Korean and Vietnam wars. In 1968, then a Houston-based correspondent, Ms. Halsell joined Lyndon B. Johnson's White House as a member of the Presidential speech-writing staff. She later attracted attention by taking drugs to turn her skin black, and posing as a Black in Harlem and Mississippi. Thereafter, she lived with the Navajo Indians, and with natives in the Andes Mountains. All these experiences she recounted in a series of books.

In 1979, Ms. Halsell traveled to the Middle East to research a book where she lived for a year among Jews, Arabs and Christians on the West Bank. Her West Bank experiences led her, upon her return to the U.S., to write articles which appeared on the op-ed pages of several papers around the country, such as the Dallas Times Herald, the Dallas Morning News and the Hartford Courant. Articles carrying her byline also appeared in the monthly United Presbyterian publication A.D., and in the London-based Arab magazine The Middle East. All these articles were pro-Arab and critical of Israeli policies on the West Bank. One of her anti-Israel articles was reprinted in Mohammed T. Mehdi's Action. Mehdi is a long-time Arab propagandist on the American scene. Ms. Halsell's anti-Israel writings, based on her one-year stay on the West Bank, culminated in a book, Journey to Jerusalem, published in March, 1981, a blatantly pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel book. A review of the book, appearing in the New York Times, pointed out that the book contained factual and historical inaccuracies.

After the publication of Journey to Jerusalem, Ms. Halsell continued writing articles critical of Israel, some of which appeared in Mehdi's Action. Her byline has appeared in the Arab League's Arab Perspectives, and in Palestine Perspectives, now defunct, published by the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C. In addition, Ms. Halsell, in September, 1981, became a member of the Board of Directors of Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), a church-oriented, pro-Arab group based in New York, and has written for AMEU's publication, The Link. She has also served as Washington Bureau correspondent for Saudi Report, a pro-Arab newsletter published in Houston. More recently, Ms. Halsell joined the Education and Publication Advisory Committee of the American-Arab Affairs Council, a recently-formed, Washington-based organization whose stated purpose is to inform the American public about the mutual interests that the United States has with the Arab world.

EDMUND R. HANAUER

Edmund R. Hanauer, a former political science instructor at Babson Institute of Business Administration in Massachusetts, has been an anti-Zionist activist on the American scene for over twenty years. His first involvement in such activity, as a member and official of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism (ACJ), introduced him to the vehemently anti-Israel Rabbi Elmer Berger. Hanauer, who is Jewish, worked closely with Berger at this time and later became involved in American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, a group organized by Berger after his departure from ACJ.

In 1972, Hanauer founded a Boston-based organization called Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine (SEARCH). As executive director of SEARCH, Hanauer has written numerous anti-Israel, pro-PLO articles and letters-to-the-editor. He has also been active on the staff of SEARCH's monthly publication, Palestine/Israel Bulletin. Across America Hanauer has presented speeches and participated in workshops sponsored by pro-PLO groups such as the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Organization of Arab Students (OAS). He is also a member of the intellectually oriented pro-PLO propaganda organization, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG).

While remaining a full-time professional of SEARCH, Hanauer has worked with these other groups to disseminate a wealth of anti-Israel propaganda. In these materials he has focused on allegations of Israeli human rights violations and "land expropriation." He has stated his support for the PLO objective of an independent Palestinian state.

Under Hanauer's leadership, SEARCH has organized several anti-Israel petitions endorsed by clergymen. Such petitions have advocated American and Israeli recognition of the PLO and reductions in U.S. aid to Israel.

In addition to its Boston office, SEARCH has, since 1975, maintained an office in Washington, D.C., known as the Middle East Resource Center (MERC). According to Hanauer, "MERC enjoys a good working relationship" with the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), a pro-PLO lobbying group, as well as with two elements of the PLO support network, the Middle East Research & Information Project (MERIP) and the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC).

GEORGE S. HISHMEH

George S. Hishmeh, a Palestinian-born journalist, has been involved with a number of Arab propaganda groups. He served as editor of Mid East review, a now-defunct publication of the American Friends of the Middle East. He has been a member of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), an intellectually oriented pro-PLO organization, and was editor of the AAUG Newsletter in 1972.

At that time, Hishmeh was also involved in the founding of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), an Arab-American lobbying group that has provided political support for the PLO. He has served on various NAAA committees since its founding, and currently holds a position on their Board of Directors.

Hishmeh has been active in the administration of the American Palestine Educational Foundation (APEF), a non-profit organization in operation since 1977. In spite of its avowed aim -- to improve educational, health and cultural facilities afforded to Israeli Arabs -- APEF has attempted to direct American sympathies away from Israel and toward Palestinian Arabs. Hishmeh has served on the APEF Board of Directors and as the organization's secretary-treasurer.

In addition, NAAA literature in 1981 identified Hishmeh as a Board Member of yet another PLO-support group, the United Holy Land Fund (UHLF). UHLF, with the stated aim of aiding Palestinian Arab refugees, has been a substantial contributor to constituent groups of the Palestine Liberation Organization including the Palestine Red Crescent Society, the PLO's medical arm headed by Dr. Fathi Arafat, Yasir Arafat's brother.

DR. MICHAEL C. HUDSON

Dr. Michael C. Hudson, 44, Professor of International Relations and Director of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Washington, D.C., is a leading "Arabist" on the American academic scene. Before assuming his position at Georgetown, he was Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Middle East Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C., and prior to that, held teaching positions at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York and at Swarthmore College. Hudson has been a visiting lecturer at Yale and at the University of Pennsylvania and is the author of several books and numerous articles on Middle Eastern subjects, including Lebanon, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and the "Palestinian resistance movement."

While Hudson is widely recognized as a scholar and an expert on Arab and Islamic affairs, and has written and lectured widely on such topics, his works present a pro-Arab, pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel perspective. He has testified before Congressional committees in support of the Arab cause. Hudson, who has been assisted in his activities by his wife, Vera Wahbe Hudson, has been associated with several pro-Arab, anti-Israel propaganda groups, and his byline has appeared in several Arab publications.

Hudson has been a member of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), an intellectually oriented pro-PLO group, and has attended and addressed several of the group's conventions. Hudson has also attended and addressed conventions of the National Association of Arab Americans, an Arab-American lobbying group.

In the 1970s, Hudson was associated with the now-defunct Middle East Affairs Council (MEAC), self-described as an "informal group of Mideast specialists organized to address public policy questions." MEAC presented testimony before Congress sympathetic to the Arab cause and distributed pro-Arab and anti-Israel propaganda material. Hudson represented MEAC in testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in December, 1973, opposing the authorization of \$2.2 billion in emergency military aid to Israel after the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Hudson's byline has appeared in such Arab publications as the Journal of Palestine Studies (Spring, 1972), a pro-PLO, English-language quarterly published in Beirut; Mid East (February, 1970), a now-defunct publication of an active pro-Arab propaganda group, American Friends of the Middle East; and Middle East Forum (Summer, 1971), published by the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut. In addition, 8 Days (November 28, 1981), a now-defunct English-language pro-Arab magazine published in London, carried an interview with Hudson.

Hudson has also written for non-Arab publications. For example, Orbis (Spring, 1982), a quarterly issued by the Foreign Policy Research Institute in association with the Graduate Program in International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania, published a forum on U.S.

policy toward the Middle East. Hudson, as one of the participants, wrote a pro-PLO and anti-Israel essay. U.S. News and World Report (October 19, 1981), a nationally-circulated news weekly, carried an interview with Hudson, who was described as an "expert on Arab affairs."

In the summer of 1982, during the Israeli action in Lebanon, Hudson, along with many other pro-PLO activists, signed an anti-Israel advertisement which appeared in several papers around the country, captioned "Death and Devastation in Lebanon." The ad was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People. The ad carried a post office box address which postal authorities said had been rented in the name of Marian C. Said, wife of Edward Said, Professor of Comparative Literature at Columbia University and a member of the Palestine National Council, the top decision and policy making body of the PLO.

DR. HATEM I. HUSSAINI

Dr. Hatem I. Hussaini has been active as a professional propagandist in the U.S. on behalf of the PLO and the Arab cause against Israel for several years. He is currently Deputy Permanent Observer of the PLO at the United Nations, and is a member of the PLO's Palestine National Council. From mid-1978 to mid-1982, he served as Director of the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C.. He has also worked for the Arab League's Arab Information Office in Washington, D.C., and was editor of the Washington edition of the now-defunct Free Palestine, a pro-PLO publication.

Hussaini, 40, a Palestinian Arab who holds Jordanian citizenship, has permanent resident alien status in the U.S. Thus, he is free to travel around the country, and in the past few years, Hussaini has traveled extensively to present his and his organization's cause as a paid propagandist for the PLO. The majority of Hussaini's speaking engagements have been on college and university campuses around the country. Hussaini holds an M.A. from Rhode Island University and a Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts.

In addition to his activities as a speaker for the PLO, Hussaini has written extensively and his byline has appeared on the op-ed pages of the New York Times and The Christian Science Monitor. He has also written articles that have appeared in smaller papers around the country, including college and university papers. The New York Times and the Washington Post have published letters-to-the-editor by Hussaini and the Chicago Tribune has published an interview with him.

As a representative of the PLO and a member of the PLO's Palestine National Council, Hussaini has consistently presented the PLO's views on the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict. In a letter-to-the-editor, published by the Washington Post on June 14, 1980, Hussaini summed up his and the PLO's position:

"The Post's editorials on Palestinians keep missing the central theme: peace cannot be achieved unless Israel ends its military occupation, recognizes Palestinian rights to self-determination and the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and properties in Palestine. Peace and occupation cannot coexist. Camp David failed because it did not deal with this central issue, and American foreign policy has also failed because it keeps on evading this basic, central and human idea. Peace means the liberation of the Palestinians and their right to return to their ancestral homeland, Palestine, and to coexist there -- Jews, Christians and Muslims -- in a secular state with full and equal rights."

Other points of view that Hussaini has presented:

-- The PLO is not a terrorist organization. The Israelis, Hussaini has charged, are the terrorists, who drove the Palestinians

out of their homes. "You have every right to pick up a gun and fight for your home," he has said. "The Palestinians are not terrorists, they are victims." Yet Hussaini has consistently dodged questions concerning the Palestine National Covenant and PLO terrorism.

-- American news media reflect "Zionist propaganda," Hussaini has said. He has complained that Americans see the PLO "through Israeli eyes."

-- The struggle of the Palestinians and their suffering is similar to the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis during the Holocaust, Hussaini has said. And the PLO, he added, is not anti-Semitic.

-- Concerning the events in Lebanon during the summer of 1982, Hussaini has said that they reflected "murder and genocide perpetrated by the Israeli government." Concerning the massacre in the Beirut refugee camps, Hussaini called for Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to be put on trial as "war criminals." "The Israeli army," he has said, "ringed those camps with their tanks and sent in murderers to settle the Palestinian question, just as the Nazis tried to exterminate the Jewish people."

ABDEEN JABARA

Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit attorney, is a veteran pro-Arab activist and pro-PLO propagandist. He has been associated with three major pro-PLO organizations in the United States: the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

Jabara serves on the Executive Board of ADC, a Washington, D.C.-based group formed in 1980 by former Sen. James Abourezk allegedly to "combat anti-Arab discrimination." In fact, ADC has engaged in anti-Israel and pro-Arab propaganda activities. In addition, Jabara was recently elected a vice-president of AAUG, an organization he helped found in 1967; Jabara served as one of the early presidents of AAUG, an intellectually oriented pro-PLO organization. Jabara also has served as counsel to PHRC, a group he co-founded in 1977, which claims to be a defender of Palestinian human rights, but which also propagandizes in favor of the PLO.

Jabara, 41, was born in the U.S. of Lebanese parents and has his law office in Detroit, which has one of the largest and most vocal Arab-American communities in the U.S. Jabara is considered one of the most influential and prominent members of that community. As an attorney, he has worked on behalf of the local Detroit Arab community regarding its daily problems -- fair police treatment of Arabs, distribution of CETA funds to Arabs, and bilingual education in the public schools, as examples -- with some success. In addition, Jabara helped establish a significant Arab-American power base within the United Auto Workers, and successfully challenged the investing of union funds in Israel bonds.

After receiving his law degree from Wayne State University in Detroit in 1965, Jabara spent a year traveling through the Middle East, and upon his return to the U.S., began to promote the Arab and Palestinian Arab cause, which he has continued to do until today.

As a pro-Arab, pro-PLO propagandist, Jabara has been active, giving speeches at meetings and rallies, and participating in teach-ins on college campuses around the country. Jabara has written several books on the Middle East situation, and was editor of the now-defunct Free Palestine, a pro-Fatah publication. Fatah is the main arm under the PLO umbrella, and is headed by Yasir Arafat. In addition, the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor have published letters-to-the-editor by Jabara, and his byline has appeared in the Arab League's Arab Perspectives, and in In These Times, a publication of the Institute for Policy Studies, a far-left Washington-based "think tank" which is sympathetic to the Palestinian Arab cause.

It is as an attorney, however, that Jabara's pro-Arab activities have been most visible. In 1969, Jabara was a member of the legal defense team which appealed the conviction and death sentence of Sirhan Sirhan, the Arab-born assassin of Robert F. Kennedy. According to Jabara, the most important thing that could come out of the Sirhan trial would be "an understanding of the Arab cause." In the fall of 1971,

Jabara acted as counsel for a number of prominent left-leaning personalities who filed a lawsuit in Washington, D.C. to force the U.S. government to disclose "contingency plans for U.S. military intervention in the Middle East." A year later, Jabara filed a civil action in a federal court in Washington, D.C., asking the court to order the Internal Revenue Service to end the tax-exempt status of the United Jewish Appeal and the United Israel Appeal. Jabara brought the suit in his name and in the names of six other pro-Arab activists, including Professor Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Professor Hisham Sharabi.

Jabara has also been active in the defense of Arabs and Arab-Americans who have faced legal action in the U.S. One of Jabara's clients, whose case was made a cause-celebre by pro-PLO groups such as the PHRC, was Elias Ayoub, a Palestinian charged by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service with failing to maintain his student status, and ordered out of the country. Ayoub was identified as "a strong activist" in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical arm of the PLO.

Jabara's most celebrated client was Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian who was charged by Israeli authorities with setting off a terrorist bomb in Tiberias, killing two persons and injuring 36 others. On August 21, 1979, two months after his arrival in the U.S., Abu Eain was arrested in Chicago on a murder warrant from Israel, and held without bail awaiting extradition. Jabara was one of four lawyers defending Abu Eain. The case received a tremendous amount of publicity, and prominent individuals, such as former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark testified on behalf of Abu Eain and against his extradition. Abu Eain was extradited to Israel in December, 1981, put on trial for murder, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment in June, 1982.

Jabara has been a leader of the leftist National Lawyers Guild (NLG), a U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-oriented International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and his byline has appeared in the NLG's publication, Guild Notes. Jabara has been the NLG's "resident expert" on the Middle East situation and has been a leading personality in the NLG's own pro-PLO activities. In October, 1976, for example, the NLG's Middle East Subcommittee distributed a pamphlet by Jabara entitled "Israel's Violations of Human Rights in Arab Territories Occupied in June 1967." In the summer of 1977, Jabara led a NLG delegation that spent three weeks in the Middle East -- Lebanon, Jordan and Israel. Jabara arranged meetings for the delegation with PLO leaders, including PLO chief Yasir Arafat. Although the group met with Jewish Israelis, Jabara limited these contacts to members of Israeli leftist groups, such as the Council for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace. Upon its return to the U.S., the NLG published a report sharply critical of Israel's policies towards the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Howard Dickstein, a member of the NLG delegation that visited the Middle East, issued a minority report that criticized the majority report as being distorted. Dickstein wrote:

"... our group was composed almost entirely of persons who had characterized themselves as 'anti-zionist' before we left New York; ... the primary sponsor of our trip was the Palestine Liberation

Organization (PLO) with whom we had just spent a week in Lebanon before visiting the occupied territories, learning about their movement and meeting with their leadership; . . . with few exceptions, we interviewed only Palestinian nationalists and anti-zionist Israelis, almost all of whom were aware of our connection to the PLO, and some of whom we met through the PLO. The need to consider additional viewpoints was confirmed by the fact that one member of the delegation, the source of most of our contacts and information, had already reached conclusions virtually identical to those of the Majority Report in a study published in 1976 by the National Lawyers Guild."

Jabara has also been active in promoting better relations between Arabs and Blacks in the U.S. For example, after President Carter dismissed UN Ambassador Andrew Young from his post in August, 1979, for an unauthorized meeting with a PLO representative, Jabara addressed the so-called First Arab-Black Dialogue meeting in New York, saying that "our interests and the interests of Black Americans are one and the same." More recently, in October, 1982, Jabara joined with Detroit Black politicians to form a loosely-knit Arab-Black "coalition."

Jabara was outspoken in his criticism of Israel's actions in Lebanon during the summer of 1982. He said: "The Israelis are engaged in wishful thinking if they think they have quelled the Palestinians' desire for freedom." After news of the massacre in the Beirut refugee camps, Detroit-area representatives of various pro-Arab and Lebanese groups met in Jabara's office to denounce the Beirut "genocide." Jabara later said that Arab-American leaders in Michigan would seek a meeting with Washington officials to obtain "some tangible evidence that the U.S. government will rein in this rabid dog -- Israel."

Jabara's role as a pro-Arab and pro-PLO activist brought him to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as far back as 1967. At that time, the FBI said that it had "reasonable cause to believe that Jabara was in fact a foreign agent" and "a member of a Middle East terrorist organization." Surveillance of Jabara intensified after the September, 1972, Munich massacre of 11 Israeli athletes as part of a concerted anti-terrorist program.

Jabara filed a lawsuit against the FBI in 1972, charging the Bureau with invasion of privacy. A federal judge ruled in Jabara's favor in 1979. In October, 1982, however, a federal appeals court in Cincinnati ruled that Jabara's rights had not been violated during the years of surveillance by the FBI.

ROBERT D. JOSEPH

Robert D. Joseph, an American of Lebanese descent, is currently the President of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA). The NAAA is a pro-PLO Arab-American lobbying group that was formed in 1972. Prior to assuming this position, Joseph, who is a Pittsburgh manufacturer-businessman, had been involved with several smaller Arab-American organizations. He has also written articles critical of Israel in the Pittsburgh Catholic.

Joseph was a founder of the Western Pennsylvania Association of Arab-Americans (WP-AAA), a regional body organized "to promote educational activities" and "fraternal and cultural unity amongst Arab-Americans." Conferences on the Middle East sponsored by the WP-AAA and the group's monthly newspaper have exhibited a noticeable anti-Israel bias.

Joseph was also a founding member of Americans for an Even-Handed Policy in the Middle East. This group has advocated an American foreign policy less committed to the State of Israel and her security.

Prior to assuming the presidency, Joseph had been active in the NAAA since 1976 as a member of its Board of Directors. He has also served on various NAAA committees, including the Executive Committee. Since becoming president in May, 1982, Joseph has been a more vocal participant in NAAA rallies and news conferences and has spearheaded NAAA's recent lobbying efforts, focusing on attempts to reduce U.S. aid to Israel and to stop the sale of military equipment to the Jewish state. Joseph has become an outspoken supporter of the PLO and has publicly criticized the Reagan Peace Plan because it does not recognize the PLO as "the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" and does not provide for establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

As NAAA President, Joseph is directing the organization's newly-formed subsidiary, Middle East Policy & Research Corporation (MEPARC). MEPARC functions as a data-gathering and consulting service for individuals and American corporations conducting business in the Arab world.

DR. WALID KHALIDI

Dr. Walid Khalidi, a Palestinian scholar and author, is one of the leading pro-PL0 intellectuals and theoreticians in the U.S. He is currently Director of Research at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Khalidi has had an impressive academic career -- lecturer at Oxford University, an associate with the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, and Professor of Political Studies at the American University of Beirut.

Khalidi's pro-Palestinian activities go back many years. He was one of the original founders of the Institute for Palestine Studies, a pro-PL0 "think tank" based in Beirut. Closely linked to the PL0, the Institute was founded in 1965, shortly after Fatah was formed. The Institute coordinates its work with the PL0's Research Center, also in Beirut, and together they have been the PL0's centers for intellectual propaganda output. Along with the University of Kuwait, the Institute has published the Journal for Palestine Studies, a well-edited English-language quarterly with a pro-PL0 viewpoint. Khalidi has been a member of the editorial board of the Journal, and his byline has appeared in the publication.

Khalidi has been a close advisor to PL0 leader Yasir Arafat, has served as his personal envoy and has been reported to be one of Arafat's chief speech writers. As to Khalidi's membership in the PL0, it is unclear. He reportedly was stripped of membership in the organization for three years in the mid-1970s "because of his moderate views." However, in May, 1982, a PL0 spokesman refused to confirm whether or not Khalidi had maintained ties with the terrorist organization.

Khalidi has been an active pro-PL0 propagandist. During the years he spent in Beirut as a professor at the American University of Beirut, he often visited the U.S. to address pro-Arab groups here, among them the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, an intellectually oriented, pro-PL0 group. He has also addressed non-Arab groups, such as the Boston Committee on Foreign Relations, and the American Friends Service Committee which has been sympathetic to the Palestinian cause.

Khalidi reportedly left Lebanon in 1977 because of the civil war then racking that country, and came to the U.S., where he accepted the position he now holds at Harvard. As a prominent Palestinian intellectual, he was mentioned by Washington officials in late 1977 as a possible intermediary representing the Palestinians at a resumed Middle East peace conference in Geneva. Khalidi was non-committal about accepting such a role. A similar suggestion was made in late 1981 by U.S. State Department career diplomats, who named him as one of three Palestinian professors teaching in the U.S. who might fill the role of special intermediary between the U.S. and the PL0.

Khalidi gained some national attention in the U.S. during 1978, when he wrote an article for the influential quarterly Foreign Affairs. In his article, titled "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State," which appeared in the July, 1978, issue, Khalidi advocated the establishment of a PL0-led Palestinian state on the West

Bank and Gaza Strip. He conceded that in the past, partition of the Holy Land was unacceptable to the Arabs but claimed that "a different generation of Palestinian and Arab leaders in different circumstances today are prepared to say that they accept it with all the implications of such acceptance for Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab reciprocal recognition and coexistence."

Nationally syndicated New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis praised Khalidi as a Palestinian with "restraint" and a "known moderate," and contended that Khalidi's proposals could not be ignored. Mahmoud Labadi, the PLO's chief spokesman, however, reportedly dismissed Khalidi's analysis as "academic."

Khalidi wrote another article for Foreign Affairs, which was published in the summer, 1981, issue of the publication. The article, titled "Regiopolitics: Toward a U.S. Policy on the Palestinian Problem," was an attempt by Khalidi to show how the Palestine problem was intertwined with other "problems" in the Middle East, and how the resolution of the Palestine problem would go a long way in solving the other Middle East problems, including a superpower collision in the Middle East. The solution to the Palestine problem, Khalidi felt, was U.S. support for a PLO-led state on the West Bank and Gaza, and a realization by Washington that the Camp David approach was a dead end. Khalidi wrote an op-ed page column for the New York Times, published in early June, 1982, in which he presented the same argument against the Camp David approach to peace.

Khalidi has recently been at the center of some controversy at Harvard University. It was disclosed in June, 1982, that Harvard had accepted a gift of \$1 million from an anonymous Saudi Arabian businessman to create a professorial chair in Arab studies. The Saudi donation was granted on the condition that Khalidi be given a part-time but open-ended research position. The donor would reportedly have no role in the selection of the person who would fill the professorial chair.

It was recently reported that 23 top-ranking Arab Palestinian leaders held a meeting in London on July 9-11, 1982, where it was decided to concentrate on efforts to change U.S. policy in the Middle East in a direction more favorable to the Arabs and the PLO. Among the participants from the U.S. were Khalidi and two other leading pro-PLO intellectuals -- Professor Edward Said of Columbia University and Professor Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown University. The group decided to hold a meeting in Europe the following month, to which some 300 wealthy Palestinians would be invited in order to raise \$100 million for the campaign in the U.S. The plan designated the "Palestine battle," called for the creation of a Palestinian lobby in the U.S., and would include contacting leading figures within or close to the Reagan Administration, including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and former Treasury Secretary John Connally. Khalidi, Said and Sharabi were reportedly charged with implementing this phase of the plan immediately.

The London meeting, after a detailed analysis of the situation confronting the PLO in Lebanon, concluded that in all likelihood the PLO would lose its military options against Israel and that only a campaign to influence U.S. policy in a pro-PLO and pro-Palestinian direction offered a viable alternative in the current period.

MARK LANE

Mark Lane, 55, a lawyer and former New York State Assemblyman, first gained national attention in the mid-1960s when he claimed that Lee Harvey Oswald was not the assassin of President John F. Kennedy. He also was in the public eye at the time that Jim Jones and members of the People's Temple cult met death in a mass murder-suicide in the jungles of Guyana in South America in 1978. Lane was Jones' attorney.

Recently, however, Lane, who is Jewish, has turned his attention to the Middle East, and has become an anti-Israel, pro-PLO activist. His vehicle is an organization he formed in 1980 in his hometown of Memphis, Tennessee, called the National Council on the Middle East. The aims of this group, according to Lane, are to "educate" the American public about the Palestinian problem, to press "the White House and Congress for a new U.S. policy toward Israel and the PLO," and to facilitate peace by challenging what Lane sees as a one-sided U.S. Middle East policy. Lane has claimed that he is fighting anti-Semitism by speaking out against what he perceives as Israel's mistreatment of the Palestinian Arabs. The program of the National Council on the Middle East includes the participation of the PLO in Mideast peace negotiations, the establishment of "a democratic and secular state" in Palestine, and the halting of all arms shipments by the U.S. to the Middle East.

In 1980, shortly before he organized his group, Lane traveled to Lebanon, and met Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders. According to Lane's own account, he was impressed with Arafat, and with the PLO's claim that it was not against the Jews, only against Zionism, and that the Palestinians wanted their homeland back. Lane began to realize that Israel had become "the least secure place for Jews in the world," and he disputed the historical and Biblical claim to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. He further felt that Israel was an "expansionist, imperialistic" nation which had driven the Palestinian Arabs out of their homeland by "massacres," threats, and "pogroms." "The Israelis," Lane decided, "have become the Nazis." It was then that he decided to organize the National Council on the Middle East.

Lane hoped to involve several prominent Americans, such as former UN Ambassador Andrew Young and a number of prominent rabbis in his work. The only reported success he has had in expanding his organization was the formation of chapters at Antioch College in Ohio, and at the University of Indiana in Indianapolis.

Lane himself has been active as a pro-Arab propagandist, appearing with other pro-Arab groups or leftist-oriented organizations. During the summer of 1982, Lane appeared with groups such as the Palestine Congress of North America, the November 29 Coalition, and the Committee for Peace and Justice in the Middle East, to denounce the Israeli action in Lebanon. Lane described Israel's action as "perhaps the darkest day in our Jewish history -- worse than the Holocaust of World War II." He added that "we're responsible for a terrible Holocaust taking place in Lebanon."

In December, 1982, Lane participated in the Holy Land State Committee-led Founding Convention for the Creation of a Holy Land State.

DR. ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

For more than 30 years, Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal has been an advocate of the Arab viewpoint with respect to the conflict between Israel and its neighbors, and he has written and spoken extensively in support of his views. A recitation of his many pro-Arab and anti-Zionist, anti-Israel activities in the last three decades would consume many pages.

Lilienthal, who has traveled frequently to the Arab world, is the author of five pro-Arab books. They are: What Price Israel? (1954); There Goes the Middle East (1957); These Are My Friends (1961); The Other Side of the Coin (1965); and The Zionist Connection (1978). In addition, since 1968, Lilienthal has been writing and editing a newsletter called Perspective -- subsequently re-titled Middle East Perspective -- through which he disseminates his pro-Arab opinions.

Lilienthal, who has described himself as a "practicing Jew," has on a number of occasions echoed the charge often made by Arab propagandists and anti-Semites that American Jews who support Israel, or who are Zionists or pro-Zionists, are involved in "dual loyalty."

Lilienthal has been quoted as saying: "The Arabs have given us [the United States] many warnings about what will happen if we persist in our blind support for Israel. We think we can separate the Arab states and pit them against each other, but it won't work. It will only harm us in the end." He has also declared: "If change is going to take place, it must come from the American Jews. They will at some point have to face up to a dual loyalty charge. Who gets their support first, the United States or Israel?"

Now 66-years-old, Lilienthal is an attorney by profession. He received a bachelor's degree from Cornell University in 1934, and his law degree from Columbia University Law School in 1938. In 1969, following accepted international practice, Columbia issued to holders of its LL.B. degree a J.D. [Juris Doctor] degree. Since then, Lilienthal has frequently been identified in newspaper articles as Dr. Lilienthal and as the holder of a Doctor of Law degree.

Lilienthal served in the U.S. State Department from 1941 to 1943, served in the U.S. Army in the Middle East from 1943 to 1945, and then returned to the State Department from 1945 to 1947. He was a consultant to the U.S. delegation at the UN Conference in San Francisco in 1945, and practiced law in Washington, D.C. from 1947 to 1950. Lilienthal lately has taken to calling himself an "historian."

Lilienthal first attracted attention in 1949 with an article in Reader's Digest entitled "Israel's Flag is Not Mine" in which he wrote as an anti-Zionist Jew and raised the question of dual allegiance on the part of American Jewish supporters of Israel. The article was a precursor to his first book, What Price Israel? in which he repeated his charges of dual loyalty.

In February, 1972, Lilienthal published a full-page advertisement in the New York Times headlined "Israel: Our Next Vietnam?" which

caused controversy because of its use of a 1960 letter from the then-Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, and because of its use of the names of 14 U.S. Senators without their permission and in a manner which implied that they were in sympathy with the views expressed by Lillienthal in the Times advertisement. Sen. Edward Kennedy stated publicly that the manner in which John F. Kennedy's letter was used in Lillienthal's ad distorted his late brother's views.

In December, 1973, Lillienthal's Middle East Perspective proclaimed the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia one of its "Men of the Year." It declared: "King Faisal of Saudi Arabia emerges as the hero of the Arab world. Radicals and conservatives look with greatest respect to the man who has achieved the impossible -- Arab unity behind constructive action in behalf of Arab interests and of the Palestine cause." Despite this complimentary view, one month later news dispatches reported that the same King Faisal had presented French newsmen, who accompanied France's Foreign Minister to Jidda, with a "personal gift" -- The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and an anthology of anti-Jewish writings. The two books were described by Saudi officials as "the King's favorite literature."

Subsequently, Lillienthal expanded his advocacy of the Arab cause against Israel to advocacy of the PLO cause. For example, in November, 1974, Lillienthal praised the United Nations' invitation to PLO terrorist leader Yasir Arafat, stating that, "By inviting the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the General Assembly debate, the UN at last has begun to redress a grave wrong." Lillienthal personally presented Arafat with a copy of his book, What Price Israel?

During 1976 and 1977, Lillienthal was a political columnist for Al Qabas, a daily newspaper published in Kuwait. In 1978, Lillienthal produced his latest and most exhaustive work on the subject of the Arab-Israeli conflict, entitled The Zionist Connection. It was subtitled What Price Peace?

In June, 1980, Arab Perspectives, publication of the Arab League's Arab Information Center in the U.S., published an article by Lillienthal entitled "Zionism & American Jews." In it, he declared with respect to American Middle East policy: ". . . normal, friendly relations with all peoples of the region may still be restored. If the PLO is recognized by the U.S. and obstacles to the creation of a Palestinian state are removed, Arab and Jew, Muslim and Hebrew, in an atmosphere of justice, may still renew their millennial peaceful co-existence side by side. But there is no place for Zionism."

Lillienthal concluded his article by declaring: "Such a happy goal is not illusory. It may be achieved when Jewish Americans find the courage to stand up as individuals and throw off the yoke of Organized Jewry. It is imperative -- by word and, more importantly, by deed -- for every Jew in the United States to articulate this credo openly and loudly: 'Judaism is not Zionism -- Zionism is not Judaism -- anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism. Israel's flag is, in no way, mine.'"

In a letter published in the New York Post of February 9, 1982, Lillienthal defended the PLO against charges of terrorism. He declared: "Your editorial [Jan. 19] states that 'The PLO and the Red Brigades

are openly committed to the tactics of terrorism.' As to the PLO your allegation is false and malicious, your jingoism and hate mongering only adds to the grave dangers I have just observed on my tour of the Middle East." Lillienthal added: "I will pay your designated charity \$500 if you can prove this charge. Otherwise you owe your readers a retraction."

Lillienthal has made frequent appearances on college platforms and on radio and TV talk programs and call-in shows to propagate his pro-Arab and anti-Zionist views. For example, in April, 1982, Lillienthal spoke at Cook College in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in a program sponsored by the Arab Students Organization at the school. There, he presented a plan that he said could contribute to Mideast peace. It called for recognition by the U.S. of the PLO as the voice of the Palestinian people. It also called for resumption of Geneva talks, to be begun with a preliminary conference between Israel and the PLO. Lillienthal moreover proposed, among other things, that Middle East issues be taken out of domestic politics.

DR. CLOVIS MAKSOUD

Dr. Clovis Maksoud has been a leading Arab propagandist for more than two decades. Since 1979 he has served the Arab and PLO causes as Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations. Maksoud, whose affiliation with the Arab League dates back to the early 1960s, has made frequent lecture tours of the United States, Europe and Australia to propagandize in behalf of the Arab and PLO cause.

Maksoud is a 54-year-old Lebanese Christian who is a graduate of the American University of Beirut, Oxford University, and George Washington University Law School. He is a veteran newspaper columnist and editor. He was senior editor of Cairo's Al Ahram newspaper from 1967 to 1971 and chief editor in Washington, D.C., of the Lebanese weekly An Nahar International in 1978.

Maksoud served as Arab League Ambassador to India and Southwest Asia from 1961 to 1966. With respect to his efforts in behalf of the Arab cause in India at the time, The Christian Science Monitor of October 17, 1967, noted, "Many diplomats credit him with major responsibility for India's pro-Arab stand and for influencing nonaligned intellectuals in favor of the Arabs."

In 1974 and 1975, Maksoud made two extended propaganda tours of the United States as Special Envoy of the Arab League. Several themes then appeared time and again in Maksoud's speeches. He hammered at the "inherent intransigence" of Israeli policies and at the "unreasonableness" of the Jewish state. He said that Israel must become a "democratic secular state" -- which was the propaganda line of the PLO. He stressed the "centrality" of the Palestinian Arab issue in the Middle East conflict. He compared Israel with South Africa and warned that "open-ended" U.S. support for Israel could result in another Arab oil embargo.

Maksoud has been an apologist for PLO terrorism and has condemned Israel for practicing "intellectual terrorism." In 1978, when 35 Israeli citizens were killed and 75 wounded after a bus was hijacked by PLO terrorists on the Tel Aviv-Haifa highway, Maksoud warned that violence would continue until Israel recognized a Palestinian state. He declared: "I do not accept violence as such but I realize that has been a reaction to the institutional violence which Israel has inflicted on Palestinians by not recognizing their rights."

In a 1980 Washington, D.C. speech, Maksoud called for Palestinian self-determination as well as recognition of the PLO as "the framework of Palestinian peoplehood." "It is the agent of their national unity and destiny," he declared of the PLO. "The PLO is the state of mind for the Palestinians. So every Palestinian is a PLO."

Writing in the Arab League's Arab Perspectives of October, 1980, about the controversy surrounding Vanessa Redgrave's performance on CBS-TV's film, "Playing for Time," Maksoud stated: "In mounting. . . irrational opposition to Vanessa Redgrave, the Zionists showed that they realized that the manipulation of the Holocaust to serve Zionist designs is as phony as Israel's claim to speak for all the Jews. The

Israeli apologists and professional lobbyists fear that the American public will disabuse itself of the false notion that anti-Zionism connotes anti-Semitism, or more precisely, that support of the struggle for Palestinian human and national rights can be equated with anti-Semitism."

The November, 1980, issue of Arab Perspectives published an editorial by Maksoud in support of the PLO and critical of then-President-elect Ronald Reagan's statement that the PLO "is a terrorist organization." Maksoud declared: "To say that the PLO 'has proven it is a terrorist organization' is to ignore the facts of modern history, that liberation movements, however they might be described by their adversaries, are exactly that: liberation movements. When those who falsely describe them as terrorists understand the truth, then they too will become liberated. . . The P.L.O. is not only the official representative of the Palestinian people, it is the framework of Palestinian peoplehood."

In an editorial in the March, 1981, issue of Arab Perspectives, Maksoud wrote: "There has been evidence in recent months that the West, but not yet equally the United States, has purged itself of the paralyzing influence of Israel's political and diplomatic blackmail, that Zionist intellectual terrorism has been constrained by the growing awareness of the West's vital interests in the region and by the moral rejection of a retrograde ideology of alienation."

In 1977, Maksoud was a Visiting Professor at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, an institution that has served as a base for a number of Arab and pro-Arab "scholars" sympathetic to the Arab and PLO cause. It was at that time that Maksoud began to seek support for the Arab cause in the American Black community. He was quoted at the time as saying that "Arabs are interested in developing all segments of public opinion but with the black American community it's a little different. The Arabs feel that the blacks having certain experiences, being dispossessed and discriminated against, will feel a sympathy toward them."

In January, 1981, Maksoud helped to arrange a meeting of Arabs and Blacks who held a "Memorial Tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." In July, 1981, and again in July, 1982, Maksoud spoke before Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH annual conventions. Also in July, 1981, Maksoud was interviewed by editors from the Black Press Institute. He told them that Third World condemnation of Israel was a matter of "conviction" and not linked to plans for aid, and that Arab support for liberation in southern Africa was "a matter of principle and not predicated on a return."

In his July, 1982, address at Operation PUSH's convention, which was held in Charleston, South Carolina, Maksoud, who received a standing ovation, condemned the Israelis as "conquerors and fascists" who had outraged "world conscience" in their attack on the PLO in Lebanon. He compared Israel with South Africa and charged that both countries have "racially persecuting regimes."

DR. MOHAMMED T. MEHDI

Dr. Mohammed T. Mehdi has sought the spotlight of American media attention for his propaganda activities in behalf of the Arab and PLO causes for the past quarter-century. Mehdi, an Iraqi, served as head of the Arab League Information Office in San Francisco from 1958 to 1962, then transferred to the Arab League Information Center in New York in 1963, and a year later formed his own Arab propaganda group, the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, now known as the American-Arab Relations Committee. Mehdi serves as president of the group and executive editor of Action, its English-language weekly tabloid.

In addition, Mehdi has been a founder and prime-mover of a number of other Arab propaganda groups active in America. He serves as secretary-general of the Federation of American-Arab Organizations, a long-time coalition of Arab propaganda groups which he helped to found. Mehdi is also secretary-general of a group he founded in 1981 called Arab People to American People (AP to AP) which, among other things, has sponsored a cable television program to present the "Arab perspective of Mideast events and American and Arab affairs." Mehdi moreover has served as co-chairman of the Arab-Black Dialogue Committee which was founded in 1978 to promote "Arab-Black friendship" and marshal Black support for the Arab cause in the wake of the 1979 Andrew Young affair.

Always alert to ways to gain media attention, Mehdi in 1972 founded and was executive director of the so-called Arab Anti-Defamation League. The group, however, was short-lived as a result of litigation brought by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Subsequently, a New York State Supreme Court Justice barred the Arab Anti-Defamation League from using the words "anti-defamation league" in its title because it represented an "unfair and illegal usurpation, exploitation and appropriation" of the title of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Mehdi, now 54-years-old, was born in Baghdad, Iraq. He received his high school education at the Baghdad School of Commerce. He subsequently came to the United States where he received B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley in 1953, 1954, and 1961, respectively. Mehdi is the author of a number of pro-Arab books. They include: Peace In The Middle East, Constitutionalism: Western and Middle Eastern, Palestine And The Bible, A Nation Of Lions...Chained, and Kennedy And Sirhan -- Why?, which attempted to defend and explain Sirhan Sirhan's action in assassinating Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Mehdi, who has frequently traveled to the Arab world, especially in recent years, has declared of himself: "I am a man of peace and I believe that peace will come to the Middle East, when a secular, democratic state is established in Palestine." That, of course, has been the propaganda line of the PLO and the euphemism for the destruction of Israel. In November, 1974, Mehdi met with Yasir Arafat, whom he has described as a friend and patriot, when the PLO leader addressed the United Nations in New York. More recently, in July, 1982, at the time of Israel's action against the PLO in Lebanon, Mehdi stated that he had talked to Arafat and had advised him to leave Beirut.

In his nearly twenty-five years of zealous activity in the U.S. in behalf of the Arab cause, and subsequently the PLO cause, Mehdi has addressed audiences and held press conferences around the country to disseminate his propaganda message. He has lashed out at the United States as "a merchant of death" for its arms shipments to Israel and others. He has also suggested three "potent" weapons that the Arabs could use against the United States, namely, to stop the flow of Arab oil, to withdraw some \$280 billion in investments, and to exclude American companies from doing business with the Arabs.

In addition to his pro-Arab speaking appearances in the U.S. and abroad, Mehdi has disseminated press releases, written numerous letters for publication in newspapers around the country, published periodicals, written books, appeared on radio and TV programs, and led picket lines and other demonstrations against Israel. He has intervened in American election campaigns, although lacking American citizenship.

Mehdi's first intervention in an American political campaign occurred in 1964 during the contest between New York's incumbent Senator, Kenneth Keating, and his challenger, Robert F. Kennedy. Mehdi sent a telegram to Sen. Keating threatening to picket his offices and to "expose" him as "a captive instrument in the hands of Zionist pressure groups." Sen. Keating's reply to Mehdi stated in part: "Since you are not an American citizen yourself, I question your qualifications to speak for the citizens of New York or any other state on this issue. Furthermore, it would seem inappropriate for you, as an Iraqi citizen, to take any part whatsoever in a United States election."

Undeterred, Mehdi shortly thereafter led members of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations in picketing Sen. Keating's New York office and in distributing flyers on the streets headlined "VOTE KEATING NO." Still later, Mehdi and his followers distributed another flyer on the streets of New York denouncing both Sen. Keating and Mr. Kennedy. The flyer charged that both candidates were bidding "for the so-called 'Jewish' vote. . . as if they were running for the Israeli Knesset." The flyer was headlined "K.K.K. -- KEATING & KENNEDY FOR KNESSET!"

More recently, in 1980, Mehdi campaigned in Idaho and Oregon to block the reelection of two U.S. Senators supportive of friendly relations with Israel, Sens. Frank Church and Bob Packwood. Mehdi's activities, under the imprimatur of Arab People to American People, included "Open Letter" ads in newspapers addressed to the two Senators. Other Mehdi targets at the time were Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois. Aides to the Senators noted that, to avoid charges that he was interfering in American elections, Mehdi sought to mask his political activities by claiming that he was conducting an educational campaign.

Mehdi, was once quoted as stating that "Zionists are neurotic, sick people," and that "Most Jews are sick people and would benefit from Dr. Freud's couch." In recent years, he has crusaded for the parole of Sirhan Sirhan, the convicted assassin of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. In addition to his other ongoing activities in behalf of the Arab cause against Israel, Mehdi has also been active as the host of his cable TV program called "Arab People to American People Television." His guests have included pro-Arab propagandists such as Hasan Abdel Rahman of the PLO, Rabbi Elmer Berger and Dr. Alfred Lilienthal.

HASAN ABDEL RAHMAN

Hasan Rahman has been active as a professional propagandist in the U.S. on behalf of the PLO since 1971. He is currently Director of the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., a post he has held since mid-1982.

Rahman was a graduate student at the City University of New York when he joined the PLO's New York staff in 1971, and from 1975 until the summer of 1982, served as Deputy Permanent Observer of the PLO at the United Nations. In the summer of 1982, Rahman was transferred from the PLO's UN Mission to serve as the Director of the PLO's Washington, D.C. Information Office.

Rahman, 38, a Palestinian Arab who holds Jordanian citizenship, has registered with the U.S. Justice Department as a foreign agent representing the PLO. His activities as such have included giving speeches and lectures, and radio and television appearances. Rahman holds permanent resident alien status in the U.S., and is thus free to travel around the country. Indeed, he has traveled extensively to present the PLO position in his role as a paid propagandist for the terrorist organization.

The majority of Rahman's speaking engagements have been on the campuses of colleges and universities around the country. In addition, he has lectured before leftist groups sympathetic to the Arab cause, and before Black and feminist groups. Rahman's numerous speaking engagements have generated a heavy volume of media coverage. His radio and television appearances have included interviews on NBC's nationally-televised "Today Show," and the Cable News Network.

As an official representative of the PLO, Rahman has consistently presented the terrorist organization's views on the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Soon after the Camp David accords were announced, Rahman summed up his and the PLO's position in a statement quoted in the press:

"First, we consider that the agreement is a violation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a national independence. . . Second, the framework for peace violates the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and properties. . . Third, the agreement perpetuates and legitimizes Israeli military occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands, also in violation of UN resolutions and international law. Fourth, Sadat has taken a position that is divisive to the Arab world and threatens Arab unity and consensus...."

Other points of view that Rahman has presented:

-- Rahman has echoed the PLO's frequent call for the "establishment of a secular, democratic state in all of Palestine."

JOHN P. RICHARDSON

John P. Richardson, a former high school teacher, has been a professional employee of a number of pro-Arab groups in the Washington, D.C. area. He worked with the now-defunct American Friends of the Middle East during the early 1960s. From 1968 to 1977, Richardson was employed by American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (ANERA). At first he held the position of Executive Director of ANERA, and in 1973, he became president of that organization. ANERA, which claims to be a non-political group assisting Palestinian Arab refugees, has been heavily funded by oil company contributions. During the latter portion of his tenure with ANERA, Richardson was also secretary-treasurer of the Middle East Affairs Council, self-described as "an informal group of Middle East specialists organized to address public policy questions."

In September, 1977, Richardson became Public Affairs Director of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), a pro-PLO lobbying group and later served as its chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill. In that capacity, Richardson sought to counter the "disproportionate influence" of the so-called Israeli lobby. Though officially registered as a lobbyist for NAAA relating to domestic interests, Richardson led several drives to drastically cut U.S. aid to Israel.

In 1981, Richardson left his NAAA position and founded his own group, the Center for U.S.-European Middle East Cooperation. As its name suggests, this group is concerned with trying to promote unified U.S. and European policy in the Middle East. As president of this group, now renamed the Center for Middle East Policy, Richardson has been an outspoken advocate of the 1980 Venice Declaration of the European Economic Community (EEC). Richardson has emphasized the EEC's Declaration, which calls for PLO involvement in peace negotiations, as the foundation for a U.S.-European common agenda on the settlement of the Mideast conflict.

SHEILA RYAN

Sheila Ryan has been, for many years, one of the most outspoken anti-Israel, pro-PLO activists on the American far-left. Ryan directs the activities of the New York-based Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), which in recent years has engaged in many public demonstrations -- under its own sponsorship and in collaboration with other pro-PLO groups -- against Israel and Zionism. Since 1976, the PSC has targeted the New York City Jewish community's "Salute to Israel" parade as a focal point for protest rallies and counterdemonstrations.

An April 19, 1980 PSC flyer, for example, soliciting support for such a demonstration and signed by Ryan, criticized American aid to Israel and American refusal to negotiate with the PLO. Reflecting other common pro-PLO themes, Ryan decried "the diversion of tax funds to destructive military purposes in the Mideast rather than expenditure for human needs here," and the perceived influence of "Zionist lobbyists" in Washington. Moreover, Ryan criticized then-President Carter for waging a "new Cold War. . . in the name of saving the Middle East from the Soviet Union." American policies, Ryan asserted, "show that the real threat to self-determination in the Mideast is in the White House, not the Kremlin."

Ms. Ryan has written many articles similarly critical of Israel and the United States for various pro-PLO organizations and publications. In October, 1979, she contributed a series of articles, written from Israel and Lebanon, to the Guardian, a leftist weekly published in New York. These articles, carrying such titles as, "The Horror of Israel's 'Secret' War," and "PLO Fights for Survival in Lebanon," were later reprinted and distributed by the PSC. Another Ryan report from Lebanon appeared in the July-August-September, 1981 issue of the AAUG Newsletter, the publication of the pro-PLO Association of Arab-American University Graduates.

Ms. Ryan was one of the signatories to a flyer soliciting participation in a May 3, 1981 march in Washington, D.C., to protest American policies on defense, Latin America and the economy, as well as the Middle East. She was also a featured speaker at a November 28, 1981 demonstration in New York marking the "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People," sponsored by the November 29 Coalition, a pro-PLO group comprised of elements of the communist Workers World Party and of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist faction of the PLO.

The October 1, 1982 issue of Workers World, published by the Workers World Party, carried an article describing a September 25 anti-Israel demonstration "initiated by the People's Anti-War Mobilization" (PAM) -- an offshoot of the Workers World Party -- and reported that "Sheila Ryan from the Emergency Committee on Lebanon" was one of the speakers. This "Emergency Committee," organized during the period of Israel's 1982 action against the PLO in Lebanon, placed an advertisement in the New York Times on July 25, 1982 claiming, "In Beirut, a people is threatened with extermination. . ." The ad, containing other misleading and exaggerated claims, listed a New York post office box number that was registered to George Cavaletto -- Ryan's husband -- and the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Ms. Ryan was listed among several anti-Israel activists as a participant in a "teach-in" on the Lebanon crisis which was held on November 21, 1982 at the Hunter College theater in New York City and sponsored by the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon.

DAVID SADD

Since 1980, David Sadd has been Executive Director of the Washington, D.C.-based National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), a pro-PLO Arab-American lobbying organization. Sadd is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and George Washington University. He is an investment banker by profession.

As an official of the politically oriented NAAA, Sadd is a leading spokesman for the pro-PLO viewpoint on the American scene. In 1981, the NAAA conducted a "national opinion poll on Middle East issues." The mailing, over Sadd's signature, solicited contributions and opinions about various Israeli and American policies, with the avowed purpose of supporting a "national campaign to block increased U.S. aid to Israel. . ." The mailing also charged that the pro-Israeli lobby had brainwashed the American public into believing that opposition to any Israeli policy is somehow "racist" or "anti-Semitic," [sic] and had used the American news media to brand Arabs as "terrorists" and "butchers." The mailing indicated that the results of the poll would be distributed to U.S. government officials and to major news outlets.

Sadd wrote a letter expressing strong support for Rep. Paul Findley of Illinois during the 1982 Congressional election campaign. The "Dear Paul" letter, dated June 25, 1982, listed Sadd's position as NAAA Executive Director, "for identification purposes only." In his letter to Findley, later made public as part of a fund-raising mailing from the Congressman, Sadd praised Findley as a "constant voice calling for U.S. negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. . ." Thanking Findley for his "courage and dedication to the cause of justice for all peoples in the Middle East," Sadd noted that "the American Jewish community is working strenuously to defeat you," but added, "I know that all Americans concerned with peace in the Middle East will support you in every way. . . to promote a U.S.-Middle East policy which serves America . . ." Findley eventually lost the election.

Under Sadd's directorship, the NAAA has maintained its active campaign against U.S. aid to Israel. In the wake of Israel's action against the PLO in Lebanon, Sadd indicated that this aspect of NAAA's propaganda effort would intensify. In an article captioned "Arab Americans Show New Political Activism," published in the International Herald Tribune in August, 1982, Sadd wrote that "never before have Arab Americans been galvanized as they have by this single event."

In the fall of 1982, an anti-Israel letter from a group called Americans Against Arms to Israel, signed by "David Sadd, Executive Director," was distributed along with a "National Opinion Poll on Middle East Issues." The letter stated that "Many Americans are beginning to realize that blind support for Israel is not in the best interests of the United States" and asked its readers to help "convince Members of the Congress and U.S. Senate to vote to cut off military aid to Menachem Begin and the Israelis" by completing the attached poll. Readers of the letter were also requested to make a "generous contribution" to the organization.

DR. EDWARD W. SAID

Dr. Edward W. Said, Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, is a member of the Palestine National Council -- the policy making body of the PLO -- and is among the preeminent and most articulate advocates of the PLO position in America. Said, 46, an American of Palestinian descent, has written several widely reviewed books in recent years on themes relating to Islam and the Palestinian Arab cause. Among these books are Orientalism, dealing with what Said has called "a remarkable tradition in the West of enmity toward Islam"; The Question of Palestine, described in a New York Times book review as "a piece of unashamed advocacy for the author's cause"; and Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World.

Said's renown as an academic figure within the PLO leadership has made him an attractive spokesman for the terrorist organization. He has frequently been a featured speaker at anti-Israel forums, including functions sponsored by the Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC).

In addition, Professor Said has been an active participant in other pro-PLO, anti-Israel propaganda activities. Said was a sponsor of the Committee to Defend Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian Arab extradited to Israel in 1982 and convicted and sentenced to life in prison in connection with a fatal bombing, and the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee, which promoted support for another Palestinian Arab deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for failure to maintain his academic status under a student visa. Said has also participated in activities sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), one of the most active pro-PLO groups on the American far-left.

A typical example of the propaganda slant of Said's political analysis was his description of Israel in a May, 1981 interview in the Arab League publication, Arab Perspectives. While acknowledging certain differences within the spectrum of Israeli political opinion, Said described "all of them" as being "both internationally and internally allied with currents in the world that are. . . unprogressive and racist." Furthermore, Said said, "all of the major political powers in Israel are and seem to be in favor of continued collaboration with South Africa. . ." He charged that Israeli society reflected "democratically supported racism" and spoke approvingly of "the effect upon Israeli society of its isolation in the world and its crumbling economy." In a letter to the New York Times published on June 22, 1980, Said claimed that a description of the PLO as being committed to Israel's destruction was "an outright fabrication" -- simply ignoring the fact that the PLO National Covenant retains its long-standing dedication to the "liquidation" of the "Zionist entity."

Said's criticism of the American media's coverage of the Islamic world extends beyond the issues of the Israel-Arab conflict. Following the release of the American hostages in Tehran in January, 1981, Said told the Boston Globe: "Americans see the hostages as completely

Innocent and the Iranian captors as gratuitous madmen in Tehran. This ignores the context of the past 30 years." Said also described the hostages as "prisoners in an undeclared war."

Said's preeminence as a PLO spokesman in the United States was illustrated in 1981 when a U.S. State Department report, prepared by a special "working group," recommended Said as a possible American intermediary to the PLO. Moreover, many of Said's articles relating to the Arab-Israel conflict have been published on the New York Times op-ed page. On June 11, 1982, for example, Said charged in such an op-ed article that Israel was pursuing a policy of "extermination" of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The Times even consulted Said as a source of information on casualties during the early stages of Israel's action in Lebanon.

Like many other figures on the Arab propaganda scene in the U.S., Said was involved in frequent anti-Israel activity during the period of Israel's 1982 action against the PLO in Lebanon. He signed the full-page ad in the New York Times placed by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People, employing highly exaggerated casualty figures that originated with the PLO. The post office box number in this ad was found to be registered to Said's wife. Said also signed similar anti-Israel ads placed by the ADC and by the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon, whose post office box in New York was registered to the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

In July, Said was reported to have been one of 23 Palestinian Arab leaders who had met privately in London to plan efforts to influence American policy in the Middle East. News accounts stated that the group planned to raise \$100 million for this campaign.

An article by Said entitled "Idea of Palestine Hounds Zionists" appeared in the September 8-14, 1982 issue of In These Times, published by the Institute for Policy Studies, a Washington, D.C.-based leftist "think tank." The article, highly critical of Israel, charged that "hardline Zionists. . . stake Israel's existence on the actual liquidation of any trace of Palestinian life."

While Said recognized the "greedy corruption of alienated, incompetent regimes [that] have turned most of the Arab world into something closely resembling a prison," he made it clear that such criticism was intended largely to illustrate his claim that "the idea of Palestine . . . represents the only direct Arab effort against an expansionist Israel. . ." Reiterating his pro-PLO theme, and seeking to justify the actions of that terrorist organization, Said added: "Arafat is on the front lines with his people. . . he walks the streets as unprotected as anyone else. His enemy is the common enemy and he fights it directly. . ."

HAVIV SCHIEBER

Haviv Schieber, 69, is a former Israeli citizen who claims to be seeking "political asylum" in the United States where he has lived as a resident alien since the mid-1960s. He is a committed anti-Zionist who has participated in numerous anti-Israel propaganda activities and has cooperated with anti-Semites on the extreme right in the U.S.

In 1968, Schieber formed the Holy Land State Committee which is based in Fairfax, Virginia. It is a pro-PLO group that has advocated replacing Israel as a Jewish state with a state for Jews, Moslems, and Christians. The Holy Land State Committee is essentially a one-man operation with Schieber as the self-appointed chairman. In an early Holy Land State Committee press release, Schieber stated that "Only by uniting Jews, Christians, and Moslems in a Spiritual Switzerland can permanent peace and prosperity be brought to the Middle East."

Schieber also said, in the November 15, 1972 Washington Observer Newsletter, a now-defunct anti-Semitic monthly that was controlled by Liberty Lobby's Willis Carto, that Zionism is a "criminal conspiracy" and that the "leaders of Israel are working hand in glove with the Soviet Union for the purpose of despoiling the Arabs and the United States of America."

More recently, in letters to public officials, Schieber has described Israel as a "tool of Soviet Russia" and has blamed "Israelis" and "Zionists" for "sabotaging petrodollar investments in the U.S." and for "brainwashing the American public." He has also stated that the PLO and the Jews should "form a full partnership in a United Secular State" -- phraseology similar to the PLO's call for "a democratic secular state in all of Palestine."

Schieber's anti-Israel activities in the U.S. have included letter writing campaigns to government officials and members of Congress and organizing "conferences" of his Holy Land State Committee in the Washington, D.C. area.

In past years, Schieber has organized several such Holy Land State Committee "conferences" in Washington, D.C., where topics such as "Israel, a Threat to World Peace" and "To break Zionist Control of American institutions" were discussed. At the most recent conference -- in December, 1982 -- Schieber's Holy Land State Committee drew up a list of resolutions aimed at "de-Zionizing" and "demilitarizing" Israel. The resolutions, which were printed in a December, 1982, issue of Liberty Lobby's anti-Semitic publication, The Spotlight, included "proclaiming a Holy Land State government in exile" and "asking the League of Arab States to give legal status" to this government which would then apply to the United Nations for recognition.

Participants at the conference included such critics of Israel as Rabbi Elmer Berger, Mark Lane, Dr. John Davis, and Grace Halsell. Clovis Maksoud, the Arab League's Ambassador to the UN, addressed the conference's Saturday evening banquet.

Schieber has also taken part in several anti-Israel, pro-PLO rallies as a representative of the Holy Land State Committee. On June 14, 1982, he marched in a demonstration in Washington, D.C. to protest Israel's action in Lebanon. The anti-Israel rally was organized by the Palestine Congress of North America, an umbrella organization for more than 50 pro-PLO groups in the U.S. and Canada.

RALPH SCHOENMAN

Ralph Schoenman, 47, of Pennington, New Jersey, has been involved in left-wing causes for over two decades. From 1960 to 1968, he was the private secretary for Bertrand Russell, the British writer and peace activist. Schoenman has recently emerged as an outspoken supporter of the Palestinian Arab cause.

In December, 1978, Schoenman was reported to have described several days of terror that he witnessed in a small Iranian town in which the Shah's soldiers and police allegedly killed opponents of the government and destroyed their homes. Schoenman was identified as a member of the Executive Committee of an anti-Shah group called the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

In June, 1982, Schoenman was a signator of an anti-Israel advertisement sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People. The ad, which claimed that 40,000 people had been killed and wounded during this summer's war in Lebanon and that 700,000 had been made homeless, solicited contributions for "our efforts to oppose Israel's onslaught on Palestinians and Lebanese."

In July, 1982, Schoenman spoke at a New York press conference sponsored by the Palestine/Lebanon Committee of the November 29 Coalition, a group of PLO supporters dominated by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an extremist faction of the PLO, and the Workers World Party. Speaking for the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese People, Schoenman claimed that 10,000 Palestinians, an exaggerated figure frequently quoted by pro-Palestinian spokesmen, were being held in Israeli detention camps. He also accused the Israeli Defense Forces of beating and torturing prisoners. He said that prisoners live under "conditions that recall conditions of [Nazi] concentration camps."

In October, 1982, Schoenman attended the 15th annual convention of the pro-PLO Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) in Montreal, Canada, where he spoke on "The Palestinian-Lebanese Defense of Beirut: Eyewitness Report."

praised Qaddafi for granting Libyans free housing, free health care and free education. Shadyac said: "Nobody who does these things is all bad." Furthermore, he has described charges that Qaddafi has supported international terrorism as "unfounded allegations."

DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK

Dr. Israel Shahak, a lecturer in organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has been an outspoken Israeli critic of Zionism and the Israeli government. Shahak's position as Chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights has afforded him a quasi-respectable platform from which to espouse anti-Israel propaganda. The League, an independent group founded by Shahak in 1970, purports to expose human rights violations in Israel, but actually is involved in efforts to undermine support for Israel in the U.S. Other members of Shahak's League include Israeli lawyers Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel, who are also actively involved in the Israeli Communist Party. Langer and Tsemel specialize in representing Palestinian Arab defendants, frequently accusing Israeli authorities of mistreating prisoners.

Shahak and his colleagues have engaged in numerous speaking tours throughout the United States, charging Israel with cruelty and torture of Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He has published these unverified charges in articles and letters printed in an array of leftist and Arab-oriented publications.

Several Arab-American groups including the pro-PLO Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), its offshoot, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) have each sponsored Shahak's speaking engagements as part of their anti-Israel propaganda offensive.

In his speeches here, Shahak has contended that "Zionism is racism" and that Israel practices "apartheid" against Palestinian Arabs. Shahak, a concentration camp survivor himself, has made grotesque comparisons likening Israel to Hitler's Germany. Shahak's charges were explicitly presented in his 1973 book, published in Paris and entitled Le Racisme de l'Etat de Israel. In this work, he alleged that "the Jews of Israel along with most of the Jews of the world, are at present undergoing a process of nazification." As a means of reinforcing his analogy, Shahak has also claimed that the Israel Defense Forces carry out a program of systematic suppression of Palestinian nationalism, including the use of "concentration camps" and "deportations."

Shahak has written a number of books and pamphlets distributed in the U.S. under the auspices of both the PHRC, which presents anti-Israel propaganda in the name of Palestinian human rights, and the Palestine Solidarity Committee, a leftist organization which has consistently promoted the PLO viewpoint. Shahak's publications, alleging systematic torture of Palestinian prisoners and human rights violations by Israel, have been widely disseminated, especially on university campuses.

DR. HISHAM SHARABI

Dr. Hisham Sharabi, Professor of European History at Georgetown University, is an American citizen of Palestinian descent and is, like Walid Khalidi, Edward Said and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, one of the most important pro-PLO activists in the United States. He received his graduate education in the U.S. and became an American citizen in 1962 after serving for a time in the 1950s in the United Nations Press Section writing Arabic commentaries.

Following Israel's decisive victory in the Six-Day War of 1967, Sharabi became a leading activist in the Arab-American community. Together with Edward Said and other leading pro-Arab activists, Sharabi played a leading role in establishing the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), an intellectually oriented pro-PLO organization. He was also a founding member of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), a pro-PLO lobbying group, and served as its president in 1978. He remains on the Board of Directors of the NAAA. Sharabi also played a role in the birth of yet another Arab propaganda organization, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), founded in 1980 for the purpose of combatting alleged anti-Arab discrimination but which devotes a considerable amount of its energy to anti-Israel propaganda activities. Sharabi has been a member of the Executive Committee of the ADC.

For some years, Sharabi has served as editor of the Journal of Palestine Studies, a scholarly magazine emphasizing the PLO point of view. The Journal of Palestine Studies is a joint publication of the Beirut-based Institute for Palestine Studies, which has worked in close cooperation with the PLO Research Center, and the University of Kuwait. The Journal maintains a pro-PLO perspective.

In numerous articles and speeches, Sharabi has articulated arguments in support of the PLO's viewpoint and three essential principles on which, he claims, the PLO would agree to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The first is the inalienable right of Palestinian Arabs to return to their homes and property in Palestine. According to Dr. Sharabi, the Arabs have a right to the whole of Israel, not merely the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Secondly, any acquisition of territory by force is illegal, an argument he uses against Israel, despite the fact that Israel only gained control of certain territory after being attacked by hostile neighbor states. The third principle enunciated by Sharabi is also part of the PLO line -- that armed struggle, under PLO leadership, is necessary to liberate Palestine.

Sharabi has advocated unconditional recognition of the PLO by the U.S. One of his main concerns is the building of a support base for the PLO and its viewpoint within the U.S. During July, 1982, he attended a secret three-day conference in London which was attended by 23 prominent Palestinians, including Walid Khalidi and Edward Said, a member of the PLO's so-called "parliament," the Palestine National Council. At the conference, it was planned to concentrate on efforts to change U.S. Middle East policy in a direction more favorable to the Arabs and the PLO. The group decided to hold a meeting in Europe the

following month, to which some 300 wealthy Palestinians would be invited in order to raise \$100 million for a planned propaganda campaign in the U.S. The plan, designated the "Palestine battle," called for the creation of a pro-Palestinian lobby on Capitol Hill, and would include contacting leading figures within or close to the Reagan Administration, including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and former Treasury Secretary John Connally. Sharabi, Said and Khalidi were charged with implementing this phase of the plan immediately.

REV. DONALD WAGNER

Rev. Donald Wagner, a Presbyterian minister in the Chicago area, has been a leading activist in the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), a self-styled human rights organization which places heavy emphasis on political issues such as U.S. recognition of the PLO and suspension of U.S. aid to Israel.

As chairperson of the Middle East Task Force of the Chicago Presbytery in May, 1979, Rev. Wagner was instrumental in the organization of the "LaGrange Conference" -- a PHRC-initiated gathering on "Human Rights and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Responsibilities for the Christian Church." The LaGrange conference, named for its Illinois location, was an attempt by the PHRC and its co-sponsors -- which included the Middle East Task Force of the Chicago Presbytery -- to convince American church leaders to support the PLO's positions against Israel. At that time, Wagner was assistant pastor at the First Presbyterian Church in Evanston, Illinois, and campus minister for the University Christian Movement at Northwestern University, in addition to his position on the Task Force.

Following the LaGrange conference, Wagner increased his activity and participation in the PHRC. He became director of its Chicago office and, from this position, directed and planned another PLO gathering -- the LaGrange II Conference. Like its predecessor, it was designed pursuant to the PHRC goal of creating a broad-based coalition of "peace, church, civil rights and Middle East related groups" that would support the PHRC's pro-PLO stand.

In September, 1981, PHRC moved its national headquarters to Chicago, and Wagner became the group's new national director. Functioning in this capacity, Wagner has continued to solicit church support for the pro-PLO posture of the PHRC.

Wagner has led several delegations of American Christians on Middle East tours of "occupied Palestine."

Under Wagner's directorship, the PHRC and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), a leading Washington, D.C.-based pro-PLO propaganda group that has been highly visible in the last several years, have jointly sponsored two other conferences similar to LaGrange I and II. The "Jerusalem, City of Peace" conference held in Washington, D.C., in May, 1982, was geared to challenge American evangelical and fundamentalist support of Israel. Their latest venture, "The Lebanon War" conference, conducted on the West Coast in October, 1982, presented a one-sided account of the fighting between Israel and the PLO.

JAMES ZOGBY

James Zogby, a 36-year-old Lebanese-American, is a former Shippensburg (Pennsylvania) State College professor who has helped to spearhead several pro-PLO propaganda drives in the U.S. In his first such position, Vice-President of Americans for Justice and Understanding in the Middle East, a small, local Pennsylvania organization, Zogby dominated the group with his pro-PLO attitude. Later, in 1977, as Vice-President of the intellectually oriented PLO support organization, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), Zogby and his colleague, Abdeen Jabara, another leading pro-PLO activist, formed the Palestine Human Rights Coalition as an AAUG offshoot. Subsequently, the group, co-directed by Zogby and Jabara, became independent of its parent organization and was renamed the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC). Under the slogan, "Palestinians have human rights too," the PHRC has been highly visible and active in disseminating anti-Israel propaganda to church and Black organizations, and on college campuses as well. The PHRC, through Zogby, has also been the driving force behind a number of smaller groups, such as the "Ziad Abu Eain Defense Committee" and the "Committee to Defend Sami Esmail," which have exploited individual Palestinian Arab court cases for anti-Israel propaganda purposes.

Zogby has gradually phased out his active participation in the PHRC in favor of his position with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). In 1980, Zogby and former U.S. Senator James Abourezk founded the new organization, modeled after the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Although the stated goals of the ADC are to combat "stereotyping of Arabs in the media" and "discrimination against Arab-Americans in employment, education and political life," ADC activities and publications reflect a number of political goals, ranging from suspension of U.S. aid to Israel to provision of legal and moral support to suspected PLO terrorists residing in the U.S.

Under the leadership of Zogby and Abourezk, the ADC sponsored a number of anti-Israel propaganda offensives during the Lebanese fighting in the summer of 1982. The organization was responsible for many advertisements alleging Israeli war crimes and misuse of U.S. aid, which appeared in newspapers nationwide. In addition, the ADC sponsored American speaking tours and media coverage of PLO sympathizers who have made similar unsubstantiated charges against the Israelis.

Zogby has attracted considerable media attention through his position as spokesman for, and Executive Director of, ADC, which currently claims chapters in 41 cities around the country and a membership of some 11,000. Since becoming active with ADC, Zogby has tended to downplay his earlier unwavering support of the PLO viewpoint and now conveys his attitude in more popular and acceptable terms, emphasizing Palestinian Arab human and civil rights, and Arab racial equality.

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